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EDITORIAL

With the present issue of the *New Indian Antiquary* the journal commences the fifth year of its existence. In this short span of life, notwithstanding the thundering war clouds approaching in the firmament of the East, we have been able to bring out four volumes of the journal covering over 2500 royal octavo pages, two Festschrifts in honour of Prof. F. W. THOMAS and the late Sir E. Denison Ross inaugurating the *New Indian Antiquary* Extra Series, in addition to two other works in the same Series, making altogether eight volumes. The Editors' thanks are as much due to the Publishers as to the contributors who have together helped the Editors in achieving so much in such a short time, and at a period when the world conditions are such as to discourage research in purely cultural subjects.

In the very second year of the *New Indian Antiquary*, just as we had completed one volume of the journal and the two Festschrifts in the Extra Series, the present World War commenced, but thanks to the zeal of the Publishers and the enthusiasm of our contributors and subscribers, the journal was kept going despite increasingly difficult conditions imposed upon the paper market and the immense rise in the cost of production. The result has been encouraging so far as the standard of the journal is concerned and it has earned for itself the unique position of being the only monthly journal in Oriental Research in the world, having among its contributors all the foremost scholars of all the countries. But owing to fall in the number of subscribers as the War has progressed and engulfed most of the European countries, as well as the increasing rise in the cost of production we are constrained either to raise the subscription or to reduce the number of pages per issue. Taking everything into account, we have now decided to reduce the output by one form of eight pages per issue, while keeping the subscription unaltered. We trust that our subscribers and contributors will realize how great are the difficulties in the continuing of a journal like this under the strain imposed on it by the nearness of the War; and we are thankful that in spite of the sacrifices involved and in the interests of Indology the Publishers have bravely undertaken so heavy a responsibility. Only the future generations will be able to evaluate properly the immensity of this sacrifice on the part of the Publishers and the greatness of their contribution to India's cultural past and the building up of the future.

It is hoped that all our contributors and subscribers will not only continue to support this unique journal by personally subscribing to it, but help the Publishers in building up an unbroken tradition in Oriental Research by bringing in more subscribers to take the place of those who have dropped off as a result of their countries being overrun by war clouds. We can assure our readers that this reduction in size is of a temporary nature, and that as soon as conditions return to normal, we shall resume the old form if they assure us of their continued support in ever increasing numbers.

S. M. KATRE P. K. GODE

THE DEVI-PURĀṆA

By

R. C. HAZRA, Dacca.

The *Devī-purāṇa*¹ is one of the most important of the Śākta Upa-purāṇas. It deals, in 128 chapters, mainly with the exploits and worship of Devī (the great goddess), who is incarnated in the Vindyas as a maiden mounted on a lion, and who, in spite of her independent existence as the 'yoga-nidrā' and the primal and pre-eminent Energy (ādyā parā śakti—7,

* While examining my thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1936, the late Professor M. WINTERNITZ wanted 'to know more of the *Devī-purāṇa*' which I occasionally mentioned in my thesis; but unfortunately I could not publish this essay in proper time, although I had completed it long before.

1. Edited by Pañcānana TARKARATNA and published in Bengali characters with a Bengali translation by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta, Second edition, 1334 B.S.

Though, as we shall see hereinafter, the *Devī-p.* is a work of great importance from different points of view, it has not yet been edited critically, nor is there even a single edition printed in Devanāgarī characters. In fact, I know of no other edition of this work than that published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta. This want has forced me to use this edition in spite of its manifold defects.

* Mss of the *Devī-p.* are not very numerous. EGGELING, in his *India Office Catalogue*, VI, pp. 1205-7 (No. 3362; Ms No. 380) describes a Ms of this Upa-purāṇa 'apparently consisting of some 7000-8000 ślokas' and written in Bengali scripts by three different hands in 1804 A.D. Its contents are practically the same as those of our printed edition, and it ends thus :

sadācāraḥ śubhāhāraḥ sarva-saṅga-vivarjitah |
vācayan śatam ardham vā pratyakṣam prāpnuyāc chivam ||
etac cābhyudayaṁ pādam śatais tribhir narottamaih |
sahasrair dvādaśair vatsa kathitam sarva-siddhidam ||
ity ādye devyavatāre śrīdevipurāṇe 'bhyudaya-pādaḥ samāptah ||

(The second verse 'etac cābhyudayaṁ pādam etc.' does not occur in the printed edition. The final colophon also is different there).

In his *Bikaner Catalogue*, p. 199 (No. 433) R. L. MITRA describes a paper Ms of the *Devī-p.* which is written in Nāgara and has the same contents as those of No. 3362 (Ms No. 380) described by EGGELING in his *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, pp. 1205-7. This Ms also ends as follows :

sadācāraḥ śubhāhāraḥ sarva-saṅga-vivarjitah |
vācayan śatam ardham vā pratyakṣam prāpnuyāc chivam ||
etac cābhyudayaṁ pāde śatais tribhir narottamaih |
sahasrair dvādaśair vatsa kathitam sarva-siddhidam ||
ādye devyavatāre devipurāṇam samāptam iti ||

In their *Descr. Cat. of Sans. Mss, Calcutta Sanskrit College*, IV, pp. 187-8 Hrishikesh SHASTRI and Shiva Chandra GUI describe a fresh, undated, complete

20), is principally the Śakti (Energy) of Śiva, though also identified with the Śaktis of other gods as well as with the Mātṛs and other female deities such as Umā, Dākṣāyaṇī, Kālī, Caṇḍī, etc. It also gives us important information about the different incarnations of Devī and her original nature and relationship with Śiva and other gods, about Śākta iconography and the Śākta vows and worships, about Śaivism (as related to Śāktism), Vaiṣṇavism, Brahmāism and Gāṇapatyaism, about warfare as well as the construction of towns and forts and the means of their protection, about the different Vedic schools as well as the Upavedas, Āṅgas, Upāṅgas etc., about the science of medicine, about manuscripts—the method of copying, the script and materials to be used for the purpose, the characteristics of the scribes, and the method of making gifts of these,—about holy places (in connection with which many countries and towns of historical interest have been named), about different kinds of gifts, about customs and usages, and so on.

The *Devī-p.* begins abruptly with an opening verse² without any mention of the person to whom this verse is attributed. This unknown reporter further informs us that some sages request Vasiṣṭha to speak on various topics, viz., the killing of the past, present and future demons by Devī, Indra's recovery of the kingdom of heaven from the demons, the hoisting of Indra's banner, the sixty incarnations of Devī, etc.³ Consequently, Vasiṣṭha promises to narrate to them, in four sections (Pāda) according as Devī was

paper Ms of the *Devī-p.* written in Nāgara characters. Its beginning and end show that it is generally the same as No. 3362 of the *Ind. Off. Cat.* and No. 433 of the *Bikaner Cat.* mentioned above. It also ends thus :

sadācāraḥ sadāhāraḥ sarva-saṅga-vivarjitāḥ |
vācayan śatam ardham vā pratyakṣam prāpnuyāt chivam ||
etaḥ abhodayam pādam śatais tribhir narottamaiḥ |
sahasrair dvādaśair vatsa kathitam sarva-siddhidam ||
ity ādye devyavatāre devipurāṇam samāptam ||

In his *Notices of Sans. Mss.* Vol. VI, pp. 180-5 (No. 2118) R. L. MITRA describes an old, undated, complete paper Ms written in Bengali characters and consisting of 128 chapters and 7371 ślokas. The analysis of its contents as well as the final verse, as given by MITRA, shows that it is generally the same as our *Devī-p.*, chaps. 1-27.

Yet another Ms of the *Devī-p.* is described by Haraprasad SHASTRI in his *Descr. Cat. of Sans. Mss.* ASB, V, pp. 769-770 (No. 4107). This is a fresh, undated, incomplete paper Ms written in Bengali scripts. The final colophon, as given by SHASTRI, shows that it is the same as our *Devī-p.*, chaps. 1-127.

For other Mss of the *Devī-p.* see *Benares Sans. College Cat.*, p. 337 (this is an incomplete Ms written in Devanāgarā) and p. 338 (this is a complete Ms written in Devanāgarā and dated '1609'); Chintaharan CHAKRAVARTI, *Descr. Cat. of Sans. Mss. in the Vāṅgiya Sāhitya Paṇīṣat*, p. 71 (this is an incomplete Ms written in Bengali scripts and dated Śaka 1726); and *Cat. of Sans. Mss. in Private Libraries in the North-west Provinces*, Part 1, Benares 1874, No. 452.

2. namaskṛtya śivam devīm sarva-bhāgavatām śubhām |
purāṇam sampravakṣyāmi yathoktam brahmaṇā purā || *Devī-p.* 1, 1.
3. All these topics have been treated of in the present *Devī-p.*

incarnated in the different Yugas⁴, all the Purāṇa-topics which he says, were related

(1) by Śiva to Viṣṇu, Brahmā and others,

(2) by Brahmā to Mātariśvan, and

(3) by Manu, Atri and Bhṛgu (who received these probably from Mātariśvan) to Vasiṣṭha and others (including Agastya?). He adds that it is Agastya's speeches on all these topics which would be widely circulated on earth through kings⁵.

Vasiṣṭha further gives the titles and contents of the four sections (Pādas) thus :

(1) The first Pāda, which is called Trailokya-vijaya or simply Vijaya, deals with the origin of Devī at the beginning of creation⁶.

(2) The second Pāda, which is termed Trailokyābhyudaya, deals with the following topics : the story of Śakra (*i.e.* Indra); the killing of Dundubhi ; Ghora's rise, his receipt of a boon from Viṣṇu, his overlordship through the practice of a spell, his son's entrance into heaven, Ghora's overcoming the Māyā and his deception by Bṛhaspati ; Devī's descent on the Vindhya ; Nārada's muttering of the great Padamālā-vidyā with a view to deluding Ghora who was to take the form of the demon Mahiṣa ; the killing of Māyā, the demon Khaṭva and others by the gods after worshipping Rudra and the numerous forms of Devī.

(3) The third Pāda is called Śumbha-Niśumbha-mathana.

(4) The fourth Pāda, which is not clearly designated (but which seems to be called 'Devāsura-yuddha'), deals with the following topics : Andhaka's fight ; war between the gods and demons, Andhaka's attainment of the status of Bhṛngi by eulogising Hara ; war between Tāraka and Kārttikeya ; the birth of Kārttikeya—the loss of Kāma's body, Viṣṇu's worship of Śiva for the good of Indra, and Kārttikeya's birth and command over the army of gods ; the origin of Umā-Kālī and her attainment of Śiva as husband ; Himālaya's marriage of his daughter ; the origin of the sages, Vālakhilyas and others who acted as Hotṛs : the story of gods and sages mounted on the chariot of the Sun ; the various conditions attained through results of actions ; the origin of Mahāśvetā who was engaged to protect the Sun ; the story of Jambha and others as well as of the gods who were transformed into planets ;

4. Cf. *catuṣpada-vibhāgena yathāyuga-kramāgatā |*

devī sarvasukhāvāptim prayacchati prapūjitā || Devī-p. 1, 30.

5. *Devī-p. 1, 29-32.* Also *Devī-p. 128, 1.*

6. Cf. *utpatti-kīrtanam sṛṣṭeḥ prathamam samudāhṛtam |*

vijaye deva-pāde tu ṛṣiṇām paripṛcchatām || Devī-p. 1, 36.

The first line may be interpreted in different ways, viz., as (1) 'the origin (of Devī) before creation has been described', and (2), 'the first origin of creation has been described'.

It is to be noted that in *Devī-p. 127, 24f.* the first origin of Devī before, or rather at the beginning of, creation has been described.

the performance of sacrifice to the planets by Brahmā ; and the residence of the Mātṛs in different regions for the good of children⁷.

Next, after mentioning the results, rules and fit places of study of the Purāṇa, Vasiṣṭha reports the interlocution between king Nṛpavāhana and his preceptor Citrāṅgada without giving the least introduction about these two interlocutors. From this interlocution we understand that Nṛpavāhana⁸ asked his preceptor Citrāṅgada to declare to him the different Vidyās on Khaḍga, Mālā, Añjana, Guṭikā etc. which the latter received from Indṛa. Consequently Citrāṅgada referred Nṛpavāhana to Agastya, who then narrated the Vidyās as revealed to Indra by Brahmā who had received these from Śiva through Viṣṇu.

Thus the topics of this *Purāṇa* are introduced in chap. 1

From the above information supplied by the *Devī-p.* itself regarding its four Pādas with their respective contents and corroborated by Bhagīratha who says in his commentary on *Kumāra-sambhava* 1, 1 that Kālidāsa wrote his great epic *Kumāra-sambhava* on the basis of the story of the birth of Kārttikeya as given in the '*Devī-purāṇa*', thus proving that the '*Devī-purāṇa*', with its contents of at least the fourth Pāda, was known to him⁹, and from the facts that in the present text we find only those topics which are enumerated as the subject-matters of the first two Pādas or rather the second one¹⁰, and that at least three of the complete Mss of the *Devī-p.* end with

7. *Devī-p.* 1, 36-52.

8. The substitution of the name 'Nṛpavāhana' by 'Vidyēśvara', 'Vidyapa' and 'Vidyādhara' (in *Devī-p.* 80, 1; 92, 14; and 102, 2 respectively) tends to show that Nṛpavāhana was a king of the Vidyādhara.

9. Dacca University Ms No. 108H (Bhagīratha's commentary on Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-sambhava*), fol. 2a—'kaviḥ kālidāsaḥ devī-purāṇīyaṃ kārttikeya-jaṇma-kathāṃ āśṛitya kumāra-sambhavaṃ nāma mahākāvyaṃ idaṃ niravatma (?)'.

Bhagīratha calls himself 'pītamunḍi-kula-bhūṣaṇa' and was a Brahmin.

It is to be noted that according to the *Devī-p.* the story of Kārttikeya's birth was dealt with in the fourth Pāda.

10. The facts that the contents of the second Pāda begin practically from chap. 2 of our extant *Devī-p.*, and that in chap. 1 the Purāṇa is found to begin abruptly and the interlocution between Nṛpavāhana and Citrāṅgada is inserted without any previous introduction of the interlocutors, tend to show that even the Trailokya-vijaya Pāda has sustained serious losses. Whatever the meaning of the line 'utpatti-kīrtanaṃ sṛṣṭeḥ prathamam samudāhṛtaṃ' (see footnote 6) may be, it must be admitted that the Trailokya-vijaya Pāda is almost totally lost. It is only *Devī-p.* 1 which seems to have belonged to the Trailokya-vijaya Pāda. Cf. *Devī-p.* 1, 28—

ādyādhyāyena saṃkṣepāt purāṇaṃ samudāhṛtaṃ |
pāde trailokya-vijaye sarva-kāma-prasādhanam ||

Whether *Devī-p.* 127, 24 f., which deal with the first origin of Devī at the beginning of creation, originally belonged to the first Pāda, or whether these verses were added only to deal very briefly with an important topic which was going to be omitted with the omission of practically the entire Trailokya-vijaya Pāda, it is not possible to say definitely with the present state of our knowledge.

the verse 'etac cābhyudayaṃ pādaṃ śataiḥ tribhir naśottamaiḥ etc.'¹¹, it is clear that the present *Devī-p.* does not represent the bigger and entire work that was known under the title in earlier days but contains only a portion of the same ending with the Trailokyābhyudaya Pāda and dealing with the first incarnation of Devī¹².

This fragmentary condition of our present *Devī-p.* is due most probably to the repeated revisions and abridgments to which the Purāṇa has, like many others of its class, been subjected from early days. The *Devī-p.* itself records a tradition that this 'Śāstra' was revealed by Śiva to Brahmā in ten lacs (of ślokas?) and by Brahmā to Indra in one lac (of ślokas?). It then reached Agastya (most probably in a more abridged form), and Agastya narrated it to king Nṛpavāhana (perhaps far more concisely).¹³ That this tradition, in spite of all its exaggerations, is not to be set aside as totally false but is based on some amount of truth, is shown by the following facts; viz., by the absence of the third and fourth Pādas and most probably of the major portion of the first also¹⁴ from the present *Devī-p.*; by the abrupt beginning of the Purāṇa, the sudden mention of Nṛpavāhana and Citrāṅgada in *Devī-p.* 1, 63-66 without any previous introduction, and the abruptness of some of the interlocutions¹⁵; by a comparison of some of the extracts quoted in the Nibandhas from the '*Devī-purāṇa*' with their parallels in the present *Devī*¹⁶; as well as by the loss of some of the chapters from the extant work¹⁷.

11. See footnote 1. The Ms described by EGELING in his *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, pp. 1205-7 has the final colophon—

'ityādye devyavatāre śrīdevīpurāṇe 'bhyudaya-pādaḥ samāptaḥ'.

12. That the present *Devī-p.* deals only with the 'first incarnation' of Devī is shown by the reading 'ityādye devyavatāre etc.' occurring in the final colophon as well as in some of the chapter-colophons of the Ms of the *Devī-p.* described by EGELING (see *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, p. 1207) and in the final colophons of the two Mss described in R. L. MITRA'S *Bikaner Cat.* and SHASTRI and GUI'S *Calcutta Sanskrit College Cat.* (see footnote 1). Cf. also *Devī-p.* 128, 4 wherein the 'ādyā devyavatāra' has indirectly been mentioned as the subject-matter of the present *Devī-p.* in connexion with phala-śruti.

13. *Devī-p.* 128, 1-2.

14. See footnote 10.

15. For instance, the interlocution between Saunaka and Manu begins from chap. 39, though no mention of the former has been made anywhere in the preceding chapters and nothing is said as to how these two interlocutors came to meet each other.

16. A long extract dealing with Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī-vrata and consisting of 71 metrical lines has been quoted from the '*Devī-p.*' in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (ASB ed.) Vol. II, Part 1, pp. 823-6. A comparison between this extract and chap. 78 of the extant *Devī-p.* shows that though the present *Devī-p.* has retained many of the lines of the quoted extract, it has summarised many of the remaining ones by retaining the language of the original as far as possible, that *Devī-p.* 78 condenses the whole topic in 28 lines, whereas the quoted extract has 71 lines, and that in the *Devī-p.* Manu is the speaker, whereas in the quoted passage the interlocutors are Devī and Śvara.

A comparison between a long extract (on Durgā-vrata) quoted in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, II, i, pp. 856-862 and *Devī-p.* 33, 50-109 shows that in the quoted pas-

The above mentioned tradition as well as the probable losses sustained by our extant *Devī-p.* shows that the changes made in the present *Devī-p.* are far more of the character of condensation than of enlargement by additions¹⁸. So, in spite of these repeated changes the major portion of the present contents of this Purāṇa can generally lay claim to an early date, if not to that of its first composition. The close interrelation among the chapters¹⁹ also points to the general integrity of the Purāṇa, so that at least the great majority of the chapters must be taken as contemporaneous.

sage Brahmā speaks to Śukra, whereas in the *Devī-p.* it is Īvara (i.e. Śiva) who speaks to Śukra and it is due to this change in the speaker that instead of the line 'etad vrataṅgamaṃ śukra mayā rudreṇa viṣṇunā' (i.e. 'this best of vows was practised by myself, Rudra and Viṣṇu') occurring towards the end of the quoted extract, the *Devī-p.* has 'etad vrataṅgamaṃ śukra mayā brahmaṇā viṣṇunā'.

Again, a summary of contents of a few lines of the *Devī-p.*, together with the line 'śṛṇu śakra pravakṣyāmi' and the verse 'śubham vāpyaśubham kiṃcit' which enclose this summary, has been given in Narasiṃha Vājapeṇi's *Nityācāra-pradīpa* (ASB ed.) pp. 640-1. A comparison between this summary and *Devī-p.* 123, 11 f. shows how the *Devī-p.* has been reshaped. In the quoted portion Śakra is addressed by somebody, whereas in the extant *Devī-p.* it is king Nṛpavāhana who is instructed by Agastya on the method of Devī-worship. Though the three quoted lines are not found in *Devī-p.* 123 and the summary of other lines resembles *Devī-p.* 123, 11 ff. only vaguely, it is *Devī-p.* 123 which must have been the new form of that chapter from which the above mentioned lines and summary were derived; because, in the expression 'mukulādinīṣedhaḥ pūrvavat/puṣpābhāve patrāṇi etc.' (*Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 641) there is unmistakable reference to *Devī-p.* 123, 18-20.

Compare also the verses 'vāma-dakṣiṇa-vettā yo mātṛ-vedārtha-pāragah' etc. quoted in Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* (ANSS ed., p. 16) with *Devī-p.* 32, 42-43 or 51, 4-6; a long extract of 130 lines quoted in Raghunandana's *Durgāpūjā-tattva* (Sans. Sāhitya Pariṣat ed.), 25-29 may be compared with *Devī-p.* 50, 88 f.; the verse 'pañcarātrārtha-kuśalo' quoted in *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 21 may be compared with *Devī-p.* 32, 42-43 or 51, 4-6; and so on.

These comparisons will show definitely that the present *Devī-p.* is the result of a recast to which the earlier *Devī-p.* was subjected.

17. The mention of 'Yudhiṣṭhira' and 'Kuru-sārdūla' as interlocutors in two extracts quoted from the '*Devī-p.*' in *Kālasāra*, p. 103 and *Varaśaktiyā-kaumudī*, pp. 30-31 respectively but not in the present *Devī-p.*, and the occurrence of the word 'pārtha' in the Vocative Case in *Devī-p.* 27, 6 show that our *Devī-p.*, once contained chapters in which Yudhiṣṭhira was one of the interlocutors. But in the present *Devī-p.* there is no such chapter.

The Mss. of the *Devī-p.* say that this Purāṇa, ending with the Trailokyābhaya Pāda, consisted of 12,300 ślokas, whereas these Mss. as well as the printed edition actually contained 7,000-8,000 ślokas. (See footnote 1).

18. That the present *Devī-p.* is not totally free from comparatively late additions, we shall see later on.

19. For instance, *Devī-p.* 21, 14 refers to *Devī-p.* 2, 33-35; 36, 1 refers to 33, 2; 44, 4 refers to 42, 10(?); 46, 9 refers to chaps. 47 f.; 57, 3 refers to chap. 50; 65, 90 refers to chaps. 50-54; 74, 2 refers to chaps. 24 f.; 92, 1-4 refer to chaps. 80-81; 93, 22-23 refer to chap. 63; 93, 59 refer to 93, 267 f.; 121, 4-5 refer to chap. 26 (?); and so on.

Though the *Devī-p.*, which calls itself a 'Purāṇa'²⁰ or a 'Śāstra'²¹ but never an 'Upapurāṇa', has not been included in any of the lists of eighteen Purāṇas or 'Upapurāṇas' contained in the different Purāṇic and non-Purāṇic works²², most probably because of its abounding in Tantric elements²³, it is by no means a very late work. It is profusely drawn upon by a large number of the Nibandhakāras, both early and late. For example, Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes numerous verses from *Devī-p.*, chaps. 51, 61 and 118 in his *Haribhaktivilāsa* (ed. Śyāmācaraṇa KAVIRATNA, Calcutta 1318 B.S.); Gadādhara from chaps. 21, 22, 24, 59, 61 and 90 in his *Kālasāra* (ASB ed.); Anantabhaṭṭa from chap. 54 in his *Vidhāna-pārijāta* (ABS ed.); Narasiṃha Vāja-peyin from chaps. 32 (cf.), 34, 50, 51 and 123 in his *Nityācāra-pradīpa*; Raghunandana from chaps. 21-24, 50, 51, 54, 59, 61 and 78 in his *Smṛti-tattva*

20. See *Devī-p.* 1, 1 : 1, 28 ; 1, 57 ; 128, 49 ; also the colophons of chapters.

The reading 'ityādye mahāpurāṇe' after *Devī-p.* 7, 90 must be a wrong one for 'ityādye devipurāṇe' which is found in many of the chapter-colophons. It is noteworthy that in the chapter-colophons the Purāṇa calls itself 'ādyā'.

In spite of its claim to the status of a 'Purāṇa' it contains very little of the five topics characteristic of a 'Purāṇa', 'vaṃśa', 'manvantara' and 'vaṃśānucārīta' being safely omitted.

21. See *Devī-p.* 128, verses 1, 13, 15, 25, 34, etc.

22. It is only the *Smṛti-tattva* of Raghunandana which includes the '*Daiva*' in the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas contained in the verses quoted by him from a '*Kūrma*' (i.e. *Kūrma-p.*). Raghunandana explains '*Daiva*' as '*Devī-p.*' (daivam devipurāṇam).—*Smṛti-tattva* (Jivānanda Vidyasāgara's ed.) I, pp. 792-3.

The text of the verses of the *Kūrma-p.*, as given by Raghunandana, is found to agree neither with that of the extant *Kūrma* nor with those of the verses on the list of Upapurāṇas quoted from the '*Kūrma-p.*' in the different Smṛti Nibandhas. (For the texts of these verses of the *Kūrma-p.* see ABORI, XXI, pp. 40-43, foot-notes).

By his reference to the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas as occurring in the '*Kūrma-p.*' and by his express mention that the *Devī-p.* was not included in any of the lists of eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas Ballālasena also disapproves definitely the text of the above mentioned verses as given by Raghunandana. See *Dānasāgara* (Ind. Off. Ms), fol. 2a—..... kūrmapurāṇādevipurāṇayoh | uktāny-upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca || ; and fol. 4a—tat-tat-purāṇopapurāṇa-saṃkhyā-bahiṣkṛtaṃ kalmaṣa-karma-yogāt | pāṣaṇḍa-śāstrānumataṃ nirūpya devipurāṇam na niban (?d) dham atra ||

Hence the age and authenticity of Raghunandana's text are extremely doubtful.

The *Devī-p.* is also included in the list of Upapurāṇas as given in the *Śabda kalpadruma*, but this list has been derived most probably from Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva*.

23. Ballālasena ascribes the exclusion of the *Devī-p.* from the lists of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas to its Tantric character. See *Dānasāgara*, fol. 4a—'tat-tat-purāṇopapurāṇa-saṃkhyā-bahiṣkṛtaṃ kalmaṣa-karma-yogāt | pāṣaṇḍa-śāstrānumataṃ nirūpya devipurāṇam na niban (?d) dham atra ||'

It is to be noted that at the time the present *Devī-p.* was first composed, the Purāṇas imbibed very little Tantric influence and looked down upon the Tantras as 'Pāṣaṇḍaśāstra'. So it is natural that the *Devī-p.*, with its prominent Tantric elements, should be kept outside the group of the 18 Upapurāṇas. See R. C. HAZRA *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 260 f.

and from chaps. 21-23, 50, 54, 59 and 123 in his *Durgā-pūjā-tattva*; Govindānanda from chaps. 21 (cf.), 24, 59, 61 and 78 in his *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī* (ASB ed.), from chap. 59 in his *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī* (ASB ed.), and from chap. 66 in his *Dānakriyā-kaumudī* (ASB ed.); Vācaspati-miśra from chap. 54 in his *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* (ASB ed.); Śūlapāṇi from chaps. 21-23 and 61 in his *Durgā-sava-viveka* (Sans. Sā. Pariṣat ed.) and from chap. 97 in his *Prāyaścitta-viveka* (Jivānanda's ed.); Madanapāla from chaps. 51, 59 and 97 in his *Madana-pārijāta* (ASB ed.); Mādhavācārya from chaps. 24, 74 and 104 (cf.) in his *Kāla-nirṇaya* (or *Kāla-mādhaviya*, ASB ed.); Śrīdatta Upādhyāya from chaps. 50 and 51 in his *Kṛtyācāra* (Dacca University Ms. No. 4339); Hemādri from chaps. 11, 12, 21-24, 27, 31, 32, 45, 50, 56, 58-62, 64-67, 74, 78, 79, 89, 91, 98, 99-107 and 121 in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*; Ballālasena from chap. 100 in his *Adbhuta-sāgara* (ed. Muralīdhara Jhā, Benares)²⁴; Aparārka from chaps. 32 (cf.), 51-53 (cf.), 59, 74, 97, 102 and 104 in his commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*; and Jīmūtavāhana from chaps. 22, 48, 61, 74 and 93 in his *Kālaviveka* (ASB ed.). (See Appendix). Some of the verses of the *Devī-p.*, which were derived by Raghunandana from 'Vācaspati-miśra', '*Kṛtya-mahārṇava*' (of Vācaspati-miśra), '*Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi*', 'Navya-varḍhamāna', '*Durgā bhakti-taraṅgiṇī*' (of Vidyāpati, but ascribed to Narasiṃha-deva of Mithilā?), '*Naiyāta-kālika-kalpataru*' and '*Kāmadhenu*' (1000-1100 A.D.), are found in *Devī-p.*, chaps. 21, 24 and 59 (see Appendix). Hence the date of the present *Devī-p.*, which had been known far and wide in the eleventh century, can never be later than 850 A.D.

Though the authenticity of the quotation made in the *Adbhuta-sāgara* from *Devī-p.* 100 is more or less debatable, Ballālasena's knowledge of the present *Devī-p.* can by no means be questioned. By his remark that the *Devī-p.*, which was excluded from the lists of eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas due to its treatment of sinful acts, was rejected by him because of its Tantric character²⁵, Ballālasena undoubtedly means the present *Devī-p.* which had Tantric elements even before the time of Aparārka²⁶. Now, by way of explaining why he rejected some of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas, partly or wholly, in his *Dānasāgara*, Ballālasena makes valuable remarks on their contents and authenticity as a result of a highly critical study of the entire Purāṇic literature and names a set of Purāṇas which he regarded as spurious, viz., *Tārṅkṣya*

24. The quotation from the *Devī-p.* in the *Adbhuta-sāgara* is more or less debatable. See my article on the 'Purāṇa literature as known to Ballālasena' in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XII, Part II, p. 131.

25. Cf. *Dānasāgara*, fol. 4a—'tat-tat-purāṇopapurāṇa-saṃkhyā-bahiṣkṛtaṃ etc.'

26. Cf. Aparārka's com., p. 16—

yad api devī-purāṇe—

vāma-dakṣiṇa-vettā yo mātr-vedārtha-pāragah |
sa bhavet sthāpakah śreṣṭho devinām mātara (trkā) su ca ||
pāṇrārārtha-kuśalo mātr-tantra-viśaradah |
..
śiva-śāsana-vettā yo graha-mātr-gaṇārthavit |
..

(i.e. *Gāruḍa*), *Brāhma*, *Āgneya*, *Vaiṣṇava* consisting of 23,000 ślokas, and *Līṅga* of 6,000 ślokas²⁷. But he expresses no such opinion about the *Devī-p.* On the other hand, he says that the lists of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas excluded it because of its Tantric character, thus implying that the *Devī-p.* is as old as any of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas mentioned in the lists. All this shows that in Ballālasena's days the reputation of the *Devī-p.* as a genuine Purāṇic work was firmly established and no question was raised as regards its authenticity and early origin. So, the *Devī-p.* must be much older than the extant *Garuḍa* and *Agni* which are identical with the spurious *Tārṅśya* and *Āgneya* mentioned by Ballālasena²⁸. The extant *Garuḍa* and *Agni* being works most probably of the tenth and ninth centuries respectively²⁹, the *Devī-p.* must be placed earlier still. Hence the *Devī-p.* cannot possibly be later than 750 A.D.³⁰

This lower limit of the date of the *Devī-p.* seems to be pushed further up by a good number of references to the independent worship of Brahmā contained in it³¹. The opinion of scholars that the sect of Brahmā became prominent during the period ranging from 200 to 600 A.D. and that the five gods of the Smārtas threw Brahmā into the background towards the beginning of the seventh century³², tends to show that at the time the present *Devī-p.* was first composed, the worship of Brahmā was more or less popular. Hence the *Devī-p.* is to be placed not later than about 700 A.D.

Again, the reference to the decadent state of Jainism and Buddhism in more places than one,³³ and the mention of Horā and Drekkāṇa³⁴, of the

27. Though it is not yet possible to identify definitely the spurious *Brāhma*, *Vaiṣṇava* and *Līṅga* mentioned by Ballālasena, the contents of the spurious Purāṇas, as given by Ballālasena in his *Dānasāgara* fol. 3b-4a, show definitely that the spurious *Tārṅśya* and *Āgneya* of Ballālasena are the same as the present *Gāruḍa* and *Āgni-p.* respectively. For more detailed information on this point see my article in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, XII, pp. 129 f. and my *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 137-8, 143.

28. See the immediately preceding footnote.

29. HAZRA, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 144 and 138.

30. In his *Durgotsava-tiweka*, p. 18 Śūlapāni says that the line 'aṣṭamyām bali-dānena putra-nāśo bhaved dhruvam' of a '*Devī-p.*' was explained by Śrīkara (who flourished between 800 and 1050 A.D. and probably in the ninth century) as prohibitive of Saṃdhi-pūjā and Bali-dāna during the Aṣṭamī Tithi. (yet tu 'aṣṭamyām bali-dānena . . . ' iti devipurāṇīyam tad aṣṭamī-kṣaṇe saṃdhipūjā-balidāna-niśedhakam iti śrīdatta-śrīkara-miśrāḥ). So it is sure that a '*Devī-p.*' was known to Śrīkara. But as the above mentioned line is not found in the present *Devī-p.* we are not sure whether the present *Devī-p.* is the same as that known to Śrīkara. The want of any tradition or evidence as to the existence of a second *Devī-p.*, however, tends to show that the two *Devī-purāṇas* mentioned above are identical.

31. See *Devī-p.* 2, 13; 35, 18-19; 50, iv, 57; 61, 1; 82, 15; 104, 9; 118, 2; and so on.

32. FARQUHAR, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, pp. 148, 179-180. Cf. also *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (ed. KERN), chaps. 58 and 60 wherein there are rules for the construction and erection of the image of Brahmā, thus proving the wide spread of the worship of the god in Varāhamihira's time.

33. See *Devī-p.* 9, 32; 13, 24; 27, 18; 33, 61; 65, 52; 69, 3; 88, 2; 110, 3; and so on.

names of the zodiacal signs (*rāśi*)³⁵ and week-days³⁶, of the Śaivas and Pāsupatas as two distinct Śivaite sects, of the Vāmas and Dakṣiṇas as two divisions of the Tantriks, of the Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu³⁷, of the Tantrik Bauddhas³⁸, and of the Hūṇas as practising the different mystic Vidyās³⁹, show that the *Devī-p.* cannot be dated earlier than 600 A.D.

This upper limit of the date of the *Devī-p.* seems to be supported by the distribution of the different limbs of the Kūrma (kūrmāṅga-saṃsthāna), as described in *Devī-p.* 46, 63 f.; because it prominently betrays the influence of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, chap. 14 (nakṣatra-kūrmādhyaḥ) not only by one of its opening verses⁴⁰ but also by metrical similarity in a few cases⁴¹. There are also a few more instances in which the influence of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* may reasonably be suspected⁴². If we are justified in tracing the influence of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī* in *Devī-p.* 16⁴³, then this Purāṇa cannot be dated earlier than 650 A.D.

These verses show that the Jains and Buddhists were regarded as wholly untrustworthy, and their sight was deemed inauspicious, unholy and most detrimental to longevity. Their sight even in dreams was considered as foreboding evil.

34. *Devī-p.* 73, 49. Though the occurrence of the term 'horā' in two verses quoted by Varāhamihira from Garga in *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (ed. H. KERN, Calcutta 1865), pp. 7 and 9 (chap. 2) shows that it came to be used by the Indians much earlier than the sixth century A.D., there is nothing to prove that it was used by them earlier than the end of the first century A.D.

35. *Devī-p.* 22, 7; 32, 8-10; 39, 167; 43, 64; 44, 8; 46, 81-82; 47, 2; 50, iv. 1 f. The word 'rāśi' is found to occur in those works which are later than the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*.

36. *Devī-p.* 43, 64; 45, 3 f.; 76, 41.

37. The Buddha began to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu most probably from about 550 A.D. See my *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 41-42.

38. *Devī-p.* 88, 2-3--

pāṣaṇḍibhir bhaviṣyaḥ tu bauddha-gāruḍa-vādibhiḥ |
svadharma-niratair vasta svena nyāyena pūjitāḥ ||

This verse refers to the Pāṣaṇḍa (i.e. Tantrik) Bauddhas who worshipped the divine Mothers in their own ways.

See also *Devī-p.* 13, 10-12, which, by their mention that *Silamatī* wife of the demon Ghora, became devoted to the Digambara sect and observed vows but did not worship the Mātṛs, seem to betray their knowledge of the Tantrik Bauddhas.

39. *Devī-p.* 39, 143.

40. Cf. *Devī-p.* 46, 64 with *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* 14, 1.

41. *Devī-p.* 46, verses 68, 72-74, 80 and 82 are composed in the same metre as *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, chap. 14.

42. For instance, *Devī-p.* 12, which deals with the hoisting of Indra's banner (indra-dhvajocchrāya), has verses, viz., 22, 24 and 28-29, which may be compared with *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* 43, 21, 22a and 39-40 respectively; *Devī-p.* 47, dealing with the movements of the planets (graha-gati), opens with six lines written in the same metre as *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, chap. 14; and so on.

43. Compare *Devī-p.* 16, 8-11

(yasya kari-mahāgandhā mada-mattā na rāstrajāḥ |
yasya hātaka-dandāni chatreṣu na jane kvacit ||
yasya ghātā śvoṣṭreṣu na pure na ca ghoṭake |
yasya dūtāḥ priyā-kope karmukāṇām na vиграhe ||

Hence it is highly probable that the *Devī-p.* was composed in the seventh century A.D., and most probably in the latter half of that century.

The mention of the earlier arrangement of the Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharanī in *Devī-p.* 46, 83 and 127, 87-92 should not be taken to go against the above general date of the *Devī-p.*; because in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* itself there is mention of the Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharanī (see *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* 15).

The above mentioned general date, to which we have assigned the *Devī-p.*, should not be taken to be the date of all the chapters without exception. In connexion with Vidyā-dāna mention has been made, in *Devī-p.* 91, of the Nandi-nāgara script, which, as Bühler says, originated from the Southern Nāgarī of the 8th-11th centuries A.D.⁴⁴. Hence chap. 91 (or rather verses 12 to the end, which deal with Vidyā-dāna) must have been interpolated later. The comparatively late date of this chapter is also shown by its mention of Yantra (diagram) as a medium of worship. It is to be noted that in the whole of the present *Devī-p.* there is no second instance in which the Yantra has been prescribed to be used as a medium of worship. Chap. 91 is, however, not to be dated later than 1200 A.D., because Hemādri quotes almost the entire chapter in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*. Besides this chapter, there may be other interpolations, but it is very difficult to find them out.

Though the *Devī-p.* calls itself a 'Purāṇa' or a 'Śāstra' but never an Upapurāṇa and is a fairly early work, it has been included among the Upapurāṇas by Raghunandana⁴⁵, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin⁴⁶, and Mitra Miśra⁴⁷. But there was a section of people who claimed that this *Devī-p.* was the real

yasya cūdhvara-yajñeṣu hyaśrupāto na śokajaḥ |
yasya śaśi-kṛpāneṣu kalaṅko na ca bhī-kṛtaḥ ||
yasya svapna-prabhā mithyā na ca vaktavya-yojane |
yasya bāle mukhābhaṅgo na ca krodha-bhayāt kvacit ||)

which describe the reign of Ghora, with Bānabhaṭṭa's description of the condition of Sūdraka's subjects in the *Kūdambarī* (NSP ed., pp. 10-11—yasmimś ca rājani jita-jagati paripālāyati mahimā citra-karmasu varṇa-saṃkarāḥ svapneṣu vipralambhāś chatreṣu kanaka-daṇḍāḥ kariṣu mada-vikārāḥ etc.).

44. BÜHLER, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 51.

45. See footnote 22 above.

46. *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, pp. 18-19.

aṣṭādaśabhyas tu prthak purāṇam yat tu drśyate |
vijānidhvaṃ muni-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgataṃ ||
vinirgataṃ samudbhūtaṃ | yathā kālīkā-purāṇādiniti lakṣmīdharāḥ |
..... yac ca vāyupurāṇa-devīpurāṇādī tad apy eteṣv antargataṃ |

47. *Vīra-mītrodaya* (ed. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares), Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15—

aṣṭādaśabhyas tu prthak purāṇam yat tu drśyate |
vijānidhvaṃ dvija-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgataṃ ||
..... vinirgataṃ samudbhūtaṃ | yathā mahājāna-parigrhita-nandikeśvara-
purāṇ-ādipurāṇa-devīpurāṇādī samkṣepaḥ |

*Bhāgavata*⁴⁸. This opinion, being wholly unjustified⁴⁹, failed to find any wide acceptance among the people and was consequently discarded.

It is difficult to say anything definitely about the provenance of the *Devī-p.* From the mention of the names of countries, rivers, holy places etc., mostly belonging to Northern India⁵⁰, it seems that the *Devī-p.* was written in this part of the country. The use of the simile of ships (*poṭa*) in more places than one in this Purāṇa⁵¹, as well as the mention of Kāmarūpa⁵², Kāmākhyā⁵³, Vaṅga⁵⁴, Rāḍha⁵⁵, Varendra⁵⁶, Sainatāt⁵⁷ and Vardhamāna⁵⁸ in several places, tends to show that the Purāṇa was written in Bengal, most probably somewhere about Tamluk, whence ships were sent to distant countries outside India⁵⁹.

The *Devī-p.* supplies us with important information regarding the literature known to it by frequently mentioning a Devī-śāstra (literature on Devī)⁶⁰ which grew up before the composition of this Purāṇa; by referring to 'Purāṇas' dealing with Devī⁶¹, thus showing that Devī had become the subject-matter of Purāṇic works even before the present *Devī-p.* was composed; and by the mention of the four Vedas as well as the Upavedas, Aṅgas etc.⁶², of Uśanas as an authority on warfare and construction of 'nadī-durga' (river-fort)⁶³, of Māthara as an authority of the method of Sun-worship⁶⁴, of the 'Śiva-siddhāntas' on Yoga and worship⁶⁵, of the 'Śiv-

48. Cf. the verse—

bhagavatyaś ca durgāyāś caritaṃ yatra vartate |
tat tu bhāgavataṃ proktaṃ na tu devīpurāṇakam ||

occurring in an Uttara-khaṇḍa (chap. 23) claiming to be a section of the *Śiva-p.* See EGGEING, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, p. 1357.

49. See HAZRA, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 52 f.

50. See *Devī-p.*, chaps. 38, 39, 42, 46 (verses 63f.), 63, 74-76, and so on.

51. *Devī-p.* 72, 73 ('poṭi potasya vā yathā' used in connexion with the maintenance of a fort by its owner); 77, 3 (..... śivapoṭaṃ tu tena pāraṃ bhavānāvāt); 83, 112 (daityaughā-majjumanānām tvap potā bhava śūlini).

52. *Devī-p.* 42, 8; 46, 71.

53. *Devī-p.* 39, 6 and 144.

54. *Devī-p.* 46, 69.

55. *Devī-p.* 39, 144.

56. *Devī-p.* 39, 144; 42, 9.

57. *Devī-p.* 46, 70.

58. *Devī-p.* 46, 70.

59. In this connexion the use of the word 'devyā' for 'devī' in a large number of places in the *Devī-p.* may be noted. It may be mentioned here that in Bengal the word 'devyā' for 'devī' is still used as a title of Brahmin widows. Note also the peculiar use of the word 'sammātikṛtvā' (in 'evaṃ tāḥ sammātikṛtvā'—7, 96) which has its parallel in Bengali 'sammata kariyā'; of 'uttha' for 'uttiṣṭha' in 8, 17 (cf. Bengali 'uṭha'—rise); and so on.

60. See *Devī-p.* 34, 3 and 8; 89, 14; 91, 7 (devyavatāra-śāstrāṇi); 99, 17 (nandā-śāstra); 101, 20; 105, 9 (maṅgalā-śāstra).

61. *Devī-p.* 37, 74; 59, 22. 62. *Devī-p.* 107. 63. *Devī-p.* 3, 33; 72, 55.

64. *Devī-p.* 51, 8. The meanings of the word 'māthara' are given by V. S. Apte as—(1) Name of Vyāsa, (2) A Brāhmaṇa, (3) A distiller (śauṇḍika), and (4) One of the attendants on the Sun. It is most probably in the last sense that the word 'māthara' has been used in the *Devī-p.* This word seems to have nothing to do with the name of the author of the Māthara-vṛtti on the *Sāṃkhya-kārikā*.

65. *Devī-p.* 10, 4; 51, 8.

gamas' as authorities on the method of worship of the divine Mothers⁶⁶, and of the Gītās of Śambhu, Uśanas, Viṣṇu and Brahmā⁶⁷. It not only mentions 'Tantra' and 'Āgama' very frequently⁶⁸ but names a good number of Tantric works, viz., *Kāla-tantra*⁶⁹, *Gāruḍa-tantra*⁷⁰, *Māti-tantra*⁷¹, *Mūla-tantra*⁷², *Bhūta-tantra*⁷³, *Bhairava-tantra*⁷⁴, *Bāla-tantra*⁷⁵, and *Niṣya-tantra*⁷⁶. In *Devī-p.* 76, 39 there is mention of a 'Mārkaṇḍeya-muniśreṣṭha-purāṇa' dealing with topics on the Narmadā and the Sarasvatī, but we have not been able to identify it. It is also not known which Purāṇa is meant by *Devī-p.* 63, 18 (aṣṭaṣṭis tu nāmāni deva-devavasya dhimataḥ | purāṇe copagītāni brahmaṇā ca svayambhuvā ||). An extract quoted by Raghunandana in his *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 668 from the '*Devī-p.*' but not found in the present *Devī*, contains the name of a '*Brahma-purāṇa*' in connexion with a Mantra to be pronounced during the worship of Viśvakarman, the divine architect.

In this connexion we should like to say a few words on the Tantric elements in the *Devī-p.* Though the Vedic influence on this Purāṇa is quite evident from the facts that the contents of the *Devī-p.* are said to be 'vedārtha-tattva-sahita', that the four Vedas are called Devī's door-keepers, that the muttering of the Gāyatrī is prescribed during Śaiva-yoga, that the Vedas are called the highest authorities on Dharma, that those who violate the rules of castes and stages of life are doomed to hell, that the worships often require the Vedic Mantras, Kuṇḍa, Homa, etc., that the Brahmins are engaged as priests, and so on⁷⁷, this Purāṇa is infused with Tantric influence from beginning to end. It not only recognises the Tantra as an authority⁷⁸ but mentions 'Tantra' and 'Āgama' on several occasions and names a good number of Tantric works. The study of a large number of Tantras is even called the best of all purifiers⁷⁹.

The form of worship, which is often mainly Tantric, requires the use of Tantric Mantras and the performance of Nyāsa, Mudrā etc.⁸⁰; the use of wine and meat is prescribed in some cases⁸¹; the feeding of virgin girls is a very important part of all worships and festivals connected with Devī; the

66. *Devī-p.* 88, 1.

67. *Devī-p.* 5, 2.

68. *Devī-p.* 6, 30; 10, 4; 33, 49; 39, 24-25; 56, 22; 83, 1 and 17; 110, 3.

69. *Devī-p.* 6, 31; 88, 1.

70. *Devī-p.* 6, 31; 32, 43; 88, 1; 91, 14.

71. *Devī-p.* 39, 25.

72. *Devī-p.* 9, 65.

73. *Devī-p.* 32, 43; 88, 1; 91, 14. The *Bhūta-tantra* has been mentioned by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* 16, 19.

74. *Devī-p.* 39, 25; 91, 14.

75. *Devī-p.* 39, 146; 91, 14.

76. *Devī-p.* 55, 8.

77. See *Devī-p.* 1, 55; 7, 22; 8, 6; 10, v, 9; 12, 26; chaps. 25-26; 35, 23; 72, 26; 73, 8; 82, 11; 93, 45; and so on.

78. *Devī-p.* 55, 8; 56, 22.

79. *Devī-p.* 110, 3—bahu-tantrāvalokanam vimalikarūṇām.....

80. *Devī-p.* 7, 65-66; 7, 88; 9, 56; 9, 68; 26, 21-22; 29, 14; 50, 1, 91; 50, iv, 71; 52, 8; 77, 21-22; 91, 40f.; 93, 267f.; and so on.

81. *Devī-p.* 39, 173; 50, iii, 18, 28 and 30; 118, 6; and so on.

The Vira-vrata requires the use of '*mahāmāṃsa*' in Homa.—*Devī-p.* 9, 68-69.

image (*pratimā*), altar (*sṭhaṇḍila*), sword (*khaḍga*), trident (*śūla*), circle (*maṇḍala*, with a *padma*), book (*pustaka*), phallus (*liṅga*), foot-wear (*pādukā*), cloth (*paṭa*), knife (*churikā*), arrow (*bāṇa*), water, fire, heart (*hṛdaya*), picture (*citra*), and bow (*dhanus*) are to be used as mediums of worship in different cases⁸²; and so on.

The *Devī-p.* mentions many mystic lores (*vidyā*), viz., Kāmikā, Pada-mālā, Aparājitā, Mṛtyuñjaya-vidyā, etc.⁸³, which are intended not only for the attainment of magic powers such as ākarṣaṇa etc. but also for final emancipation (*mukṭi*)⁸⁴. It elevates the position of the spiritual preceptors (*guru*) by prescribing their worship which is said to be as important as, or more important than, that of the gods, Fire and the Vidyās⁸⁵.

As to the position to be allowed to women and Śūdras, the *Devī-p.* holds a liberal view. It allows them as well as the Pukvasas, Caṇḍālas and others to perform the vows and worships connected with Devī⁸⁶ and even prefers a qualified Śūdra to a worthless member of any of the higher castes for the worship of Devī⁸⁷. Women and Śūdras are directed to perform Homa daily in a sanctuary (*maṭha*) or a kitchen (*mahānasa*) but never in a Kuṇḍa⁸⁸. Virgin girls are to be worshipped and fed in all the worships and festivals connected with Devī, because Devī, being herself a maiden, resides in all virgin girls⁸⁹. Other women also are held in high esteem⁹⁰, so much so that their worship is prescribed on several occasions⁹¹.

The language of the *Devī-p.* often exhibits epic license. It uses 'Mahātejah' for 'mahātejasah' (7, 22), the word 'devyā' for 'devī' (7, 91—devyāyai; 92, 13—devyāyām; 99, 5—devyāyāḥ; etc.), 'viśaiḥ' for 'vidbhīḥ' (22, 5), 'pramadāni' for 'pramadāḥ' (22, 19), 'tac-chāstra-vettārah' for 'vettbhīḥ' (32, 42), 'brahmeṇa' and 'brahmasya' for 'brahmaṇā' and 'brahmaṇaḥ' respectively (40, 11; 98, 10), 'nāmena' for 'nāmnā' (46, 83), the word 'mātara' for 'mātr' (53, 10—mātarānām; 59, 11—ravi-mātara-rūpā; 65, 90—mātarānām; and so on), 'śivomāṇ' for 'śivome' (64, 2; 65, 1), 'rā-jasya' for 'rājñah' (80, 13), 'antyaajām' for 'antyaajānām' (88, 4), 'prat-yuṣi' for 'pratyuṣasi' (90, 20), 'mātrm' for 'mātaraṃ' (91, 6), 'śrāvaneṣādhe' for 'śrāvane āśādhe' (93, 48), 'vaśo rājā sumantriṣu' for 'vaśe rājā sumantriṇām' (9, 12), 'devī-śāstrārtha-vettāraṃ pūjanam bhavane

82. *Devī-p.* 22, 10; 26, 35; 31, 18; 50, i, 61; 50, iv, 42f. and 100; 54, 10; 57, 13; 58, 19; 65, 56f; 91, 40f.; 93, 102-106; 98, 7-9; 98, 18-19; 100, 5; 102, 11-12; and so on.

83. *Devī-p.* 1, 63-64; 2, 1; 9, 49 and 52; 11, 4; 76, 31; and so on.

84. *Devī-p.* 39, 27; 39, 122-4.

85. *Devī-p.* 67, 5; 124; 1; chap. 125. Also cf. 39, 170; 123, 24 and 26 f.

86. *Devī-p.* 22, 5-6; 22, 23-24; 24, 17; 88, 4; 89, 19; 91, 1; and so on.

87. *Devī-p.* 51, 4-5.

88. *Devī-p.* 121, 5.

89. *Devī-p.* 35, 17-18.

kanyā devyā svayaṃ proktā kanyā-rūpā tu śūlinī |
yāvad akāṣṭa-yoniḥ syāt tāvad devyā surārīhā ||

90. *Devī-p.* 93, 165f.

91. *Devī-p.* 22, 19; 90, 21; 91, 61.

'*subham*' for '*°vettuh pūjanam* etc.' (34, 3), '*utta*' for '*uttīṣṭha*' (8, 17), '*pūjyeta*' in the active voice (22, 19—*devī-bhaktāmś ca pūjyeta*), '*udjran*' for '*udīrayan*' (33, 4), '*cintamānena*' for '*cintayatā*' (36, 32), '*smṛitvā*' for '*smṛtvā*' (39, 45), '*tāḍayat*' for '*atāḍayat*' (41, 3), '*pātayat*' for '*apātayat*' (41, 8), '*prcchate*' for '*prcchati*' (80, 13), '*pūjya*' for '*pūjayitvā*' (91, 6), '*dadet*' for '*dadyāt*' (91, 74), '*sevanti*' for '*sevante*', and so on. The occurrence of such instances throughout the whole *Purāṇa* is important as regards its age and general integrity.

Tracts, claiming to be parts of the *Devī-p.*, are very small in number. In the *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat* collection there are two Mss. of the '*Devī-purāṇokta-durgāpūjā-pāddati*' and "*Devīpurāṇe Virāṣṭamīvrata-kathā*"⁹², and in the *Dacca University* collection there is a Ms. of a *Caṇḍikā-khaṇḍa*⁹³ claiming to be a part of the *Devī-p.* This *Caṇḍikā-kh.*, which is quite different from the '*Caṇḍikā-kh.*' drawn upon in the *Prāyaścitta-khaṇḍa* (p. 82) claiming to be a part of Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, is a unique *Purāṇic* work dealing with the story of Maṅgala-caṇḍī as found in the *Caṇḍī-maṅgala-kāvya*s of Bengal.

APPENDIX I

Verses quoted from the '*Devī-p.*' in

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>Kālaviveka Devī-p.</i>
of Jimūtavāhana,
pp. 354-5 = 48, 2.
p. 407 = 61, 3.
p. 410 = 61, 4b-5.
[The verse ' <i>caturthi-bharaṇi-yoge</i> ' is not found.]
p. 412 = 61, 8.
pp. 424-5 = 61, 13-14a.
pp. 469-470 = 61, 17b-19a.
p. 472 = 74, 9b.
p. 512-3 = 22, 7-8a.
p. 513 = 93, 104b-105.
p. 524 = 74, 11-16 and 19b. | <i>Devī-p.</i>
p. 557 = 59, 17.
p. 559 = 59, 18. |
| 2. Aparārka's com. on the <i>Vāṅja-vaikya-smṛti</i> ,
p. 16—Cf. 32, 42-43, or 51, 4-6.
p. 174 = 97, 7a.
pp. 363-4 = 104, 2-10; 102, 1.
[The line ' <i>dhenum tilamayīm</i> ' and the verse ' <i>māghe māsi tilān yas tu</i> ' are not found.]
p. 428 = 74, 11-16 and 19b. | 3. <i>Aubhuta-sāgara</i> of Ballālasena,
pp. 274-5 = 100, 9b-10.
4. <i>Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi</i> of Hemādri,
Vol. I,
p. 41 = 102, 3-4a.
p. 235 = 50, ii, 39-40.
pp. 407-8 = 104, 11 to the end.
pp. 415-6 = 105, 1 to the end.
pp. 421-2 = 106, 1 to the end.
pp. 437-8 = 103, 7 to the end.
pp. 463-4 = 103, 2-6.
p. 513 = 91, 24-25.
pp. 544-7 = 91, 12, 23 and 37-73.
p. 558 = 91, 74b-81.
p. 561 = 91, 82 and 9.
pp. 886-7 = 104, 1-4 and 8b-10; 102, 1.
[The lines ' <i>vratānte gām subhām</i> ' and ' <i>vratānte māsa-dānākhye</i> ' on p. 887 are not found.] |

92. Chintaharan CHAKRAVARTI, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat*, p. 72.

93. Ms. No. 1617A. This Ms. is written in Bengali characters and consists of 78 folios and 16 chapters. It contains a fly leaf bearing the date 1723 Saka.

Devī-p.

p. 887 — Cf. 104, 5.

p. 889 = 102, 9.

Vol. II, Part i,

p. 29 = 102, 5-7a.

[The verse 'sarve śivāśramāḥ' is not found.]

p. 63 = 50, iv, 74-77.

pp. 65-66 = 65, 99b; 66, 1-6a, 11-12, 30-33a and 38b-39a.

[Two lines from 'vārayanti grahān' on p. 66 are not found.]

pp. 69-71 = 56, 14-23 and 41-44.

pp. 71-75 = 121, 1ff; 50, 78-91a.

p. 90 = 50, i, 94a-b.

pp. 223-5 = 65, 99b; 66, 1-4, 36, 5-6a, 11-12, 30-33a, 38b-39a.

pp. 309-311 = 56, 14-23 and 41-44.

pp. 311-316 = 121, 1ff.; 50, 74-91a.

pp. 484-5 = 65, 1-6a.

[Four lines from 'namah samastabhuvana' are not found.]

pp. 823-6 = 78, 7b-8 (cf.), 9b,

11-13(cf.), 14, 15-16 (cf.), 17a, 17b-18 (cf.), etc. etc.

pp. 856-862 = 30, 50-109.

pp. 899-900 = 65, 6b-11.

[The line 'om namo mahābhagavatyai' is not found.]

pp. 900-903 = 21, 12-14; 22, 2-20a and 22-24.

[The line 'saubhāgyārthaṃ striyā kāryam' on p. 901 is not found.]

pp. 1175-7 = 58, 1-2a, 2b-16a and 19-25.

Vol. II, Part ii,

pp. 230-3 = 100, 1 to the end.

pp. 332-5 = 89, 2 to the end.

[Eleven lines from 'viprā yathā ca pūjyānām' on p. 335 are not found.]

pp. 401-410 = 11, 39-57; 12, 1-26, 27-29a and 31 to the end.

pp. 420-4 = 31, 1 to the end.

pp. 453-5 = 61, 1-14 and 16-25.

[The line 'vāme grhīta-dhanvā ca' on p. 454 is not found.]

pp. 590-2 = 45, 1 to the end.

pp. 600-617 = 65, 12-26, 30b and 35 to the end; 66, 1 to the end; 67, 1-14 and 15b-62a.

Devī-p.

[The line 'gorocanālaktarukma' on p. 602, five lines from 'yajñakarmābhivṛddhiś ca' on pp. 605-6, the line 'niryā-sāmbuda-śaileya' on p. 612, four lines from 'dvyāṅgulaṃ dvyāṅgulaṃ vṛddhyā' on pp. 613-3, and two lines from 'kalyāṇaṃ te prakurvantu' on p. 616 are not found.]

pp. 627-8 = 67, 67b-74.

[The first four lines 'evam puṣye avāpnōti' etc. are not found.]

pp. 691-3 = 79 ii, 1-13a, 20 and 13b-19

pp. 693-4 = 79, iii, 1-8.

p. 694 = 79, iii, 9-10.

pp. 694-5 = 64, 1-5.

p. 695 = 64, 6-7.

pp. 696-8 = 10, 1 to the end.

pp. 775-6 = 23, 1-11.

pp. 832-6 = 99, 1-18a, 19-20a, 21-41a and 42-52.

pp. 853-4 = 104, 1-4 and 8-10.

[The line 'vratānte gāṃ subhām' on p. 854 is not found.]

pp. 915-6 = 107, 46b-54 and 57 to the end.

pp. 990-1 = 60, 1-12.

Vol. III, Part i,

p. 164 = 74, 1.

p. 231 = 24, 1-7a and 21-23.

p. 235 = 24, 16.

p. 248 = 74, 11-16 and 17b-19.

p. 335 = 59, 17.

p. 862 = 74, 15-16a.

pp. 1336-7 = 27, 1-5.

p. 1616 = 60, 3b.

p. 1626 = 60, 9.

pp. 1626-7 = 60, 4-5.

[The second quotation 'aṣṭābhir dhenubhiḥ' etc. is not found.]

p. 1628 = 60, 8b.

p. 1634 = 60, 10.

[The verse 'evam vṛṣotsarga-vidhiṃ' is not found.]

Vol. III, Part ii,

pp. 385-6 = 74, 11-21.

pp. 408-9 = 24, 2b-6

[Four lines from 'sūrye ghorā vidhau dhānkeṣi' on pp. 408-9 are not found.]

Devi-p.

- pp. 409-410 = 24, 17c-17g.
 p. 410 = 24, 18-20.
 [Eight lines from 'samkrāntir jāyate yatra' are not found.]
 p. 411 = 24, 11b-12.
 p. 416-7 = 24, 21-24a and 25.
 pp. 418-9 = 24, 7-9, 1, 26a-b and 10-11a.
 p. 419 = 24, 13.
 p. 422 = 24, 7a.
 p. 424 = 24, 14-15.
 p. 425 = 24, 14b-15a and 16.
 p. 426 = 24, 17a-b.
 p. 429 = 24, 14b.
 p. 431 = 24, 14b.
 p. 589 = 59, 17.
 p. 617 = 61, 3.
 p. 619 = 61, 8.
 p. 630 = 63, 13-14a.
 p. 637 = 61, 17b-19a.
 pp. 853-4 = 52, 8b-10 and 13-14a.
 [The verses from 'mātrbhairavarāhi etc.' are not found.]
 pp. 880-1 = 45, 2-6a.
 [Twenty-five lines from 'māghādyāh kālīkādyās ca yastavyā vidhinā mune' on pp. 880-1 are not found.]
 p. 890 = 98, 13.
 pp. 890-1 = 61, 1-4a, 9-10, 14b-16a, 17b-18, 23a and 19a.
 p. 892 = 62, 2-3a. For the other quoted lines cf. *Devi-p.* 62, 3b ff.
 p. 911 = 12, 44.
5. *Kṛtyācāra* of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya, fol. 58a = 50, iv, 66-69.
 fol. 59a (twice) = 51, 23b and 13b-14a.
6. *Kāla-nirṇaya* of Mādhavācārya, p. 62--refers to chap. 101. (But in *Devi-p.*, chap. 101 Tiladāna is ordained in the month of Māgha).
 p. 337 = 24, 14-15.
 pp. 340-1 = 24, 2-6.
 pp. 349-350 = 74, 11-16 and 18-19a.
7. *Madana-pārijāta* of Madanapāla, p. 122 = 97, 8b and 11a.

Devi-p.

- p. 304 = 51, 13b-14a.
 p. 526 = 59, 17.
8. *Durgotsava-viveka* of Śūlapāni, p. 2 = 23, 4b.
 p. 6 = 22, 7a.
 p. 10 = 22, 6.
 p. 19 = 21, 10a-b.
 [The verse 'śāmkareṇa nimeṣeṇa' is not found.]
 pp. 20-21 = 21, 9b-10b.
 p. 22 = 23, 2 and 9-10.
 [The line 'pūrvāśāḍhā-yutāṣṭamyaṃ' is not found.]
 p. 27 = 61, 13-14a.
9. *Prāyaścitta-viveka* of Śūlapāni, p. 276 = 97, 5.
10. *Tirtha-cintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati-miśra, p. 246 = 54, 15b-16a.
11. *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda, p. 31 (the verse 'gaṇeṣe kārāyet pūjām') = 61, 8.
 p. 57 = 78, 6.
 p. 66 = 78, 6.
 p. 205 = 24, 22-23.
 pp. 205-6 = 24, 13.
 p. 206 = 24, 16.
 p. 207 = 24, 7a.
 pp. 207-8 = 24, 3-6.
 pp. 208-9 = 24, 14-15.
 p. 209 = 24, 17a-b.
 pp. 210-211 = 24, 17c-20.
 p. 215 = 24, 10-11.
 [The other quotation 'tulāmeṣa-praveśe tu' is not found.]
 p. 217 = 24, 15a.
 p. 245 = 24, 11b.
 [The verses 'samkrāntyaṃ yāni dattāni' and 'śatam indukṣaye dānam' are not found.]
 p. 250 = 59, 3b-4a.
 [The verse 'ityeṣā kathitā rājan' is not found.]
 p. 339 = 59, 13b-14a.
 pp. 348-9 = 59, 18.
 p. 351 = 59, 16b.
 pp. 359-360 = 59, 16-17.
 p. 366 = Cf. 21, 13.
 p. 373 = 59, 19, 20a and 21a.

Devī-p.

R 523 = 61, 13-14a.

p. 532 = 61, 22b-23a.

[The verse 'mande vārke gurau
vāpi' is not found.]

- 12.
- Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī*
- of Govindā-
-
- nanda,

p. 276 = 59, 16-17.

p. 287 = 59, 16b.

- 13.
- Dānakriyā-Kaumudī*
- of Govinda-
-
- nanda,

p. 94 = 60, 7b-8a and 6b-7a.

[The verses 'vr̥ṣa eva' and 'enam
vr̥ṣam' are not found.]

- 14.
- Durgā-pūjā-tattva*
- of Raghunandana,
-
- p. 1 = 22, 7a and 23b.

p. 12 = 21, 13; 2 and 9-10.

p. 17 = 123, 5.

p. 21 = 123, 13a, 14, 15a, 13b
and 12.

pp. 25-29—Cf. 50, 88 ff.

p. 31 = 21, 10a-b and 9b-c.

[The line 'aṣṭamyām bali-
dānena' is not found.]

p. 36 = 21, 9c; 59, 21a.

p. 37 = 59, 19-20a.

p. 38 = 23, 2 and 9-10; 54, 15b-
16a.

- 15.
- Smṛti-tattva*
- of Raghunandana,
-
- Vol. I,

p. 22 = 54, 15b-16a.

p. 35 = 61, 10.

p. 66 = 22, 7a and 23b.

p. 67 = 22, 6.

pp. 72-73 = 21, 12-13.

p. 82 (durgābhakti-taraṅgiṇi-kṛtya-
mahārṇva-dhṛtena devipurā-
ṇena ...) = 21, 9b-10b.

p. 85 = 59, 19-20a and 20b.

[The line 'pūrvāśādhā-yutāṣṭam-
yām' is not found.]

p. 93 = 23, 2a and 9-10.

p. 118 = 59, 16b-17.

p. 140 = 24, 13-14a, 17b and 14b-
17a.

p. 142 = 24, 7a.

p. 143 = 24, 6.

p. 150 = 24, 7 and 9b.

p. 257 = 59, 16b-17.

p. 400 = 51, 23b.

p. 844 = 59, 18.

Vol. II,

p. 5 (... kāmadhenu-naiyata-
kālikakalpataru-kṛtyacintāmaṇi
hemādri-vācaspati-miśra-dhṛta-
devipurāṇam) = 24, 7-12.

p. 6 = 24, 1.

pp. 59-60 = 54, 15b-16a.

p. 60 = 50 iv 66-67.

p. 93 = 78, 6.

p. 343 (... navyavardhamāna-
prabhṛtayaḥ) = 59, 27b.

511 = 54, 15b-16a.

[The second extract 'bhaktyā
piṣṭa-pradīpādyaiḥ' (quoted
with the words 'pūjā-ratnā-
kare devipurāṇam') is not
found.]

p. 586 = 54, 15b-16a.

- 16.
- Nityācāra-pradīpa*
- of Narasimha
-
- Vājapeyin,

p. 21—Cf. 32, 42-43; or 51, 4-6.

p. 172—refers to *Devī-p.* 50, iv, 52.

p. 172 = 50, iv, 53a.

p. 172—refers to 50, iv, 78 and 80.

p. 173—refers to 50, iv, 78.

p. 570 = 34, 9 and 10b-11.

p. 611—Cf. 51, 13b-14a.

p. 640 = 123, 8-9a, 10b, 12-13a,
14a, 16b, 13b and 17.

pp. 640-1—Cf. 123, 11 f.

p. 641 = 51, 14a.

p. 641—refers to 123, 18-20.

p. 641 = 51, 10b and 13b-14a.

- 17.
- Vidhāna-pārijāta*
- (Vol. I) of
-
- Anantabhaṭṭa.

pp. 588-592 = 54, 15b-16a and
16b-21.[The long extract on 'lakṣa-
homa' is not found.]

- 18.
- Kālasāra*
- of Gadādhara,

p. 84 = 61, 10.

p. 104 = 22, 4b-6a.

[The line 'saubhāgyārtham tathā'
is not found.]

p. 111 = 21, 13.

pp. 114-5 = 22, 23b-24.

[The first extract 'māsi cāśvayuje
vīra' etc. is not found.]

p. 203 = 96, 22.

p. 462 = 59, 17.

Devī-p.

- p. 466 = 59, 18.
 p. 579 = 24, 22-23.
 p. 580 = 24, 17a-b.

19. *Haribhaktivilāsa* of Gopālabhaṭṭa,
 p. 206 = 51, 24-25 and 15-16a.

'Devī-p.

- p. 392 = 51, 23.
 p. 916 = 61, 1-2.
 pp. 1286-7 = 118, 14b-15a.
 [The first extract '*Devārcā naiva
 samcālyā*' etc. is not found.]
 p. 1325 = 118, 15b-16a.

APPENDIX II.

The quotations made from the '*Dev-p.*' in the following works are not found in the present *Devī-p.*:

1. *Kālaviveka*, pp. 470, 491.
2. Aparārka's com. on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, pp. 10-11 (*devipurāṇa-yoga-yājñavalkyayohi* . . .), 372 (on *aśva-dāna*), 386 (on *dāna*), 570 (sixteen lines on the description of the image of the Sun probably to be worshipped during *Graha-yajña*).
3. *Smṛtyartha-sāra* (of Śrīdhara), p. 150 (from *Āditya-p.* ?).
4. *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, Vol. I, pp. 61, 63, 78, 82, 88, 156, 216-7 (on *mṛtyuñjaya-pūjā-vidhi*), 518, 568, 668 (on *āśraya-dāna* ?), 673-4 (on *pratiśraya-dāna*), 908, 963, 1003, 1004, 1007-14 (149 lines on *dvāri-bandha-vidhi*), 1044-47 (on *ārāma-ropana*).
- Vol. II, Part i, pp. 525-6 (on *Kunda-caturthi-vrata*), 906 (on *aśva-pūjā* during the worship of *Devī*), 955.
- Vol. II, Part ii, pp. 728-730 (on *Samkrānti-vrata*), 964-9 (on *bhṛgu-patana*).
- Vol. III, Part i, pp. 705, 707, 727-8.
- Vol. III, Part ii, pp. 285-6, 615, 631, 633, 639, 677-8, 851, 878-9 (*kāmanā-viśeṣena nakṣatra-viśeṣe devatā-viśeṣa-pūjā*), 912 (on *Indra-dhvajocchrāya*).
5. *Durgotsava-viveka*, pp. 1, 4, 7, 8, 11, 13, 16, 17, 18, 25.
6. *Vṛatakāla-viveka* (of Śūlapāṇi, Dacca University Ms No. 1578c), fol. 3a.
7. *Dolayātrā-viveka* (of Śūlapāṇi, Dacca University Ms No. 177c), fol. 4a.
8. *Tīthi-viveka* (of Śūlapāṇi, Dacca University Ms No. 403d), fol. 9a.
9. *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi*, pp. 10, 11, 247-250 (*gaṅgāyām vrata-phalaṃ*).
10. *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī*, pp. 9, 10, 30-31 (on *Caturthi-kṛtya*; only the last verse is found in the *Devī-p.*), 61, 170, 212, 249, 346, 367, 371 ('*kalpataru-likhita-devipurāṇe*'), 374-5, 376, 377, 380, 447, 369-370, 370.
11. *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī*, pp. 268-9, 284, 292, 356.
12. *Dānakriyā-kaumudī*, pp. 26, 160.
13. *Nityācāra-paddhati* (of Vidyākara Vājapeyin, ASB ed.), pp. 509-510.
14. *Durgāpūjā-tattva* (of Raghunandana), pp. 3, 25, 29, 37-38, 43, 44.
15. *Smṛti-tattva*, Vol. I, pp. 25, 65, 72, 75, 76, 77 ('*kalpataru-dhṛta-devipurāṇe*'), 86, 89, 90, 102 ('*pūjāratnākare devipurāṇam*'), 127, 130, 132, 145, 154, 299, 319, 324-5, 399, 404, 410-1, 431, 490, 535, 607, 663, 666 ('*kalpatarau devipurāṇam*'), 668, 689 ('*dānaratnākare devipurāṇam*'), 800, 815, 827 ('*pratiśthā-kāṇḍa-kalpatarau devipurāṇam*'), 'kṛtya-cintāmaṇau devipurāṇam'), 828 ('*kāmarūpiya-nibandhe smṛti-sāgare devipurāṇam*'), 852, 860; Vol. II, pp. 20, 66, 153, 289, 320, 372, 414 ('*kalpatarau devipurāṇam*'), 417, 419, 437, 504 ('*kalpatarau devipurāṇam*'), 614, 614-5 ('*kalpatarau devipurāṇam*'), 615, 617, 651 ('*pūjāratnākare devipurāṇam*').
16. *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, pp. 147, 290.
17. *Kālasāra*, pp. 8, 80, 88, 103, 105, 112, 112-3, 157, 230-1, 284, 479, 592.
18. *Vidhāna-pārijāta* (Vol. I), pp. 588-592 (a long extract on *lakṣaḥoma*).
19. *Haribhaktivilāsa*, pp. 1178, 1179, 1180.

ON VALID TESTS OF LINGUISTIC HYPOTHESES

By

D. D. KOSAMBI, Poona

It is known that in any connected piece of writing ["language stream"] the number of words used twice is far less than that used only once. The number occurring three times is still less, and the drop continues rapidly. The Harvard philologist George Kingsley ZIPF has proposed a "law" for this, the number of words used n times being, according to him, proportional to n^{-2} (1, 24; 2, 40-44). The main purpose of this note is to raise serious objections to this inverse square "law." These objections are statistical. I maintain that no such law, whatever the exponent, will do for the data so far given because the fit is not sufficiently good even when the best exponent is taken by calculations on the logarithmic scale. (1, 25-26; 2, 43; 5, 63). To put this in non-technical language: to every head, there will be one cube-shaped wooden box that fits best, but in general, a rubber cap or a felt hat of the right size will fit better, and the latter is more likely to indicate a contour of the skull.

1. As my attention was first called to the problem by the Old-Kanarese word counts of Mr. M. G. VENKATESAIIYA (working under the direction of Mr. C. R. SANKARAN), I shall illustrate the accepted statistical method by an application to his data. *K*, *V*, *P* denote three works in Halagannada, entitled the *Kavirājamārga*, *Voḍḍārādhane*, and *Pampāsatakam* respectively. For purposes of testing it will be necessary to group together the small frequencies at the ends, and sufficient to present the counts as follows:

TABLE I

Fr.	Observed				Expected		
	<i>K</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>P</i>	Totals	<i>K</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>P</i>
1.	3241	2990	1087	7318	3220.6	3041.3	1056.1
2.	270	301	62	633	278.6	263.1	91.3
3.	62	71	19	152	66.9	63.2	21.9
4.	40	45	14	99	43.6	41.1	14.3
5.	29	22	7	58	25.5	24.1	8.4
6.†	39	47	18	104	45.8	43.2	15.0
Total	3681	3476	1207	8364	3681.0	3476.0	1207.0

The expected numbers are calculated on the assumption that the three works are uniform in the structure of their language stream,

whence it follows that the ratio of the figure in each 'expected' cell to the total at the foot of its column must be the same as the corresponding ratio of the marginal totals. The numbers so obtained are rounded off to the first decimal, taking due care to preserve the totals each way. As it is clear that the expected and observed totals will never coincide in practice, some method of calculating the magnitude of the discrepancy and of judging its seriousness is necessary. This, for the case in hand, is KARL PEARSON'S χ^2 test, χ^2 being the sum obtained by squaring the difference between each expectation and observation, and dividing the square by the expected number. This sum is here about 22.25, and inasmuch as ten of the given eighteen entries could have been made at will without disturbing the totals, we enter the tables of χ^2 (to be found in any standard text on statistics, such as R. A. FISHER'S *Statistical Methods for Research Workers*) with 10 degrees of freedom. It is then found that the probability of exceeding this value of χ^2 lies between .01 and .02. That is, we should, on the hypothesis of uniformity between the three works, expect to obtain such a result not oftener than once in fifty times, but not so rarely as only once in a hundred trials. This is hardly in favour of the hypothesis, though the 'level of significance' is to some extent a matter of individual choice, just as the fit of a hat would depend upon the wearer. If P were smaller than .05, as it is here, the statistician would take the hypothesis as contradicted, following the standard practice of his trade.

This test is surely more exact than anything suggested by ZIPF (5) or his critics (4), judging from the reference material to which I have access here. If the same test be applied to the data for the *K* and the *V*, it will be found that the two works are compatible, P being not less than about 0.2, which is not at all serious. That is, the *Kavirājamārga* and the *Voḍḍārādhane* follow about the same frequency laws, but the *Pampāsatakam* is decidedly of a different nature. The main cause of the discrepancy lies in words of frequency two, of which the *V* has too many and the *P* far too few.

2. Applying this χ^2 test to ZIPF'S data, we reach the following conclusions: Taking together his numbers for Chinese and Plautian Latin with ELDRIDGE'S for American newspaper English (1, 23; 2, 26-28), the value of χ^2 is enormous and virtually excludes the very notion of uniformity. Of the three, Peiping Chinese and Plautian Latin are closest together, as would be expected from the fact that ELDRIDGE did not count numerals and proper nouns (2, 25). We note in passing that the totals as given by ZIPF need two corrections, that for Chinese being 3342 instead of his 3332, and for Eldridge's English, 6001 in place of 6002. Testing the two languages counted by ZIPF, however, we find χ^2 about 40.8, which for 17 degrees of freedom gives a probability of .001, almost exactly, about one chance in a thousand that the two languages follow the same frequency law, the discrepancy arising mainly in frequencies 5 and 15.

Finally, the same test applies to any proposed law of frequency, in particular to the inverse square law. For sufficiently extended counts, the expected number of words occurring n times would be given by $6N/(\pi n)^2$, or

$\cdot 6079N/n^2$, where N is the total number of distinct words counted. The square of each discrepancy is again divided by the expected number; the ratios are added together for the value of χ^2 . It will be found that of all the six sets of counts cited here, the 'law' applies best to Chinese. It is again necessary to group together the smaller frequencies at the end (in testing by χ^2 the expected frequency should not in any cell fall much below ten) and for 17 degrees of freedom, I obtain a value of $\chi^2 = 27.17$ whereas the value for $P \cdot 05$ is 27.587. The fit, then, is hardly satisfactory; the best that can be said about the proposed law is that the data for Chinese does not contradict it so decisively as that for the remaining languages.

3. To apply these simple tests, little knowledge of statistical theory, none of pure mathematics, is required. The labour involved is trifling when it is considered that final conclusions are to be drawn from data far more laboriously compiled and that their validity is to be tested. It is surprising, therefore, to note that nowhere in the work of ZIPF, nor in the criticisms of JOOS (4) nor the arguments advanced by an able mathematician like STONE (5, 60-61, 63-64) is there any idea of testing goodness of fit or significance. As the U. S. A. are fortunate in possessing many statisticians of eminences, I shall offer a few suggestions here, and leave it to the philologists to work them out, if they see fit to do so.

None of the inverse exponent laws fit at all well, though each exponent may be said to characterize the sample from which it was calculated just as the best fitting cubical box would characterize a skull. For KAEDING's data (2, 23), the three counts given by ZIPF, as well as the three of Kanarese with which I illustrated the χ^2 test, a type B series derived from the Poisson distribution or one of Neyman's "contagious" distributions (6) would be found, to fit far better. But the same series would not do for all the samples any better than the same box or hat for all heads; the statistics would be of a descriptive type, lacking the attractive if fictitious Newtonian simplicity of the inverse square law, supplemented by an appeal to SCHRÖDINGER, HEISENBERG, DIRAC (5, 61). Another interesting possibility, if a Poissonian or type B series is found to fit well, would be of estimating the passive vocabulary of the stream, words not used at all, by extrapolation; the "maximum-likelihood" formulae for estimating the words of zero frequency from a supposed Poisson distribution can be worked out very easily, but are not given here inasmuch as the said distribution, which is virtually a random distribution, does not fit.

A far more serious matter is that of properly randomised sampling. ZIPF and his followers wish to characterize an entire language, sometimes all languages, by means of their counts. But the total number of words in the respective language streams is always enormous in comparison with the number that can be counted (with obvious exceptions like Anglo-Saxon or Sumerian); therefore every precaution has to be taken to avoid bias. This, again, is a matter to which the statisticians have devoted a good deal of time; standard methods of randomisation exist which might very well be considered before the work of counting is begun. It is to be noted that ZIPF's *scattering*

point (1, 24) disappears with increased size of the sample, as well as in our tests of significance.

Finally, it must be stated that statistics is not just a laborious method of contradicting the pleasing conclusions obtained by the common sense of the philologist. For example, analysis of variance may be applied to the combined data for thirteen languages (3, 61, 65) using the percentages given by ZIPF. The conclusions are that the languages are remarkably uniform, that there is no difference between the classic and the modern languages, that there is a tremendous difference between the consonants *t d k g p b* on p. 61 and the *m n l r* on 65, whether they be taken in these two blocks or separately. For any two entries in ZIPF's table, the difference of 3.36 per cent. is to be taken as significant at the 5 % level ; for the means between two languages, this should be divided by $\sqrt{10}$, for two consonants, by $\sqrt{13}$. A caution is necessary in that the use of percentages can be objectionable : if all the percentages were taken, every language would have the same total 100. But if the use be allowed in the present case, the information which I give and which does not contradict ZIPF is partially summarised in the following table :

TABLE II
Analysis of Variance

Source	d. f.	sum-squares	mean sq.	ratio
languages	12	15.424060	1.285338	(1.0987) ⁻¹
blocks t-b vs. m-r	1	78.736862	— — —	55.75***
Consonants within a block	8	376.270187	47.033773	33.3046***
lang. \times blocks	12	25.192508	2.099376	1.4866*
residual	96	135.574263	1.412232	(s.d. 1.18837)
Total	129	631.197880	4.893007	3.4647

Here the blocks are the two sets of consonants. It is seen that the languages behave differently in the two sets, but this has not the enormous significance of the difference between consonants.

REFERENCES :

1. George KINGSLEY ZIPF : *Selected Studies of the Principles of Relative Frequency in Language* (1932).
2. George KINGSLEY ZIPF : *The Psychobiology of Language* (1936).
3. George KINGSLEY ZIPF : *Harvard Studies In Classical Philology* XL, 1929, pp. 1-95.
4. Martin JOOS : *Language*, XII, 1936, 196-210.
5. G. K. ZIPF : *Language* XIII, 1937, 60-70.
6. Jerzy NEYMAN : *Annals of Mathematical Statistics* X, 1939 35-57.

THE NOSE-RING IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

By

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[In 1939 I published a paper on the "Antiquity of the Hindu Nose-ornament" in the *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Institute (Vol. XIX, pp. 313-354) in which I tried to prove that this ornament is a foreign importation into Indian culture. I further traced the history of this ornament in Indian sources from A.D. 1000 onwards but was unable to trace any references to it in Indian sources prior to A.D. 1000. In view of these findings I was curious to investigate the history of this ornament prior to A.D. 1000 in any source other than Indian and accordingly carried on a cursory perusal of the Bible. To my great surprise I found in the Bible some references to the nose-jewels. In this connection I had a discussion with my friend Prof. D. D. KOSAMBI, who advised me to consult some scholar, competent to study all the references to the nose-ring in the Bible and to prepare a critical note on them for publication in the *New Indian Antiquary*. As a result of Prof. KOSAMBI's inquiry through Prof. John MACLEAN of the Wilson College, Bombay, I was fortunately introduced to Prof. R. T. S. MILLAR of the same College who kindly agreed to my request and prepared the following interesting note on the "Nose-ring in the Old Testament". I take this opportunity of thanking all these friends for their willing co-operation in pursuing my inquiry about the antiquity of the Nose-ornament prior to A.D. 1000. Prof. MILLAR thinks that the custom of wearing the nose-ring might have come to the Hebrews from the ancestors they had in common with other Semitic peoples.—P. K. CODE.]

The following does not attempt to be more than a note on the use of the Hebrew word *nezem* in the Old Testament or Hebrew Bible. The significance of this is that it indicates that nose-rings were in use among the people of the Hebrews several centuries before Christ.

The word *nezem* means an ornament in the shape of a ring, and this seems always to have been made of gold. The dictionary gives two meanings: "nose-ring" and "ear-ring", because in some places where it is used it is obviously attached to the nose, and in others it is certainly an ornament for the ears.

There are eleven passages in the Old Testament where the word is used:

Genesis 24, verses 22, 30, 47.

Genesis 35, verse 4.

Exodus 32, verses 2, 3.

Exodus 35, verse 22.

Judges 8, verses 24, 25, 26.

Isaiah 3, verse 21.

Ezekiel 16, verse 12.

Hosea 2, verse 13.

Job 42, verse 11.

Proverbs 11, verse 22.

Proverbs 25, verse 12.

In two of the above passages there is a direct reference to ears. The first is Genesis 35, 4. The Hebrew is as follows :

w^eeth hann^ezāmīn 'a sher b^e'oznēhem :

which is translated in the Authorised Version of the Bible as

"all their earrings which were in their ears."

The Revised Version translates :

"the rings which were in their ears ;"

and Professor MOFFATT, in *A New Translation of the Bible*, as

"their amulets of ear-rings."

The other is Exodus 32, 2, 3.

"wayyōmer 'a lēhem 'ah^arōn pā^ar^qū nizmē hazzāhābh 'asher
b^e'oznē n^eshēkhem b^enēkhem ūbh^enōthēkhem "

"And Aaron said unto them

"Break off the golden earrings, which are in the ears of
your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters." (A. V.)

".... Break off the golden rings" (R. V.)

MOFFATT also translates *earrings*.

As the word *nezem* (plural n^ezāmim) in these passages undoubtedly means an earring, the earlier translators seem to have attempted to read this meaning into the word in all cases where that was at all possible. The Septuagint (the Greek version of the Old Testament) translates in all cases by *enotion*, an earring. The Vulgate follows suit with *inaures*, but finds difficulty in two passages, where it uses other words. These will be dealt with later. The Authorised Version (English, 1611) followed the Vulgate, translating by *earring* except in these two cases. The Revised Version (English, 1884) alters to *nose-ring* in a number of passages, and seems to give the correct rendering in most cases. This, with MOFFATT'S Translation, may be treated as the last word on the subject as far as translation is concerned.

Besides the passage dealt with above, there are several of the passages in question where there seems to be little doubt that earrings are referred to. These are :

Judges 8, 24

ūth^enū-lī īsh nezem sh^elālō kī-nizmē zāhābh lāhem kī yishm^eālīm hēm
"give me every man the earrings of his prey (for they had golden ear-
rings, because they were Ishmaelites)" (A. V.)

The R. V. and MOFFATT also translate *earrings*.

Job 42, 11

"wayitt^enū lō īsh nezem zāhābh eḡādh "

"every man gave him an earring of gold" (A. V.)

"every man gave him a ring of gold" (R. V.)

"a gold ring" (MOFFATT)

The chief reason for the assumption that *earring* is the correct translation in these passages is that the rings seem to be for wearing by men, and all the evidence shows that nose-rings were only worn by women.

Three of the passages just dealt with (Genesis 35, 4, Exodus, 32, 2, 3, and Judges 8, 24) have an interest of their own as indicating that the rings described were associated with heathen practices or heathen peoples. In the first passage Jacob's household is purified by putting away strange gods and divesting themselves of their earrings. In the second passage earrings are melted down to make the golden calf which the Israelites worshipped sinfully in the wilderness. In the third passage, earrings are taken from the defeated Ishmaelites. It was considered natural that they should have golden earrings, because they traded for gold and silver, which they brought from Egypt and Arabia. Pliny (*Natural History* xi, 50) refers to the wearing of earrings by men of the East. There is said to be no such custom among the Bedawin (the descendants of the Ishmaelites) to-day. The earrings seem to have been regarded as amulets. (See MOFFATT's translation and PEAKE's *Commentary on the Bible*.)

There are three passages where the meaning of the word might be either "earring" or "nosering". These are :

Exodus 35, 22

"wayyābhō'ū hā'nāshīm al-hannāshīm kōl n'dhīb

lēbh hēbhī'ū hāh wānezem w'eṭabba' ath w'ekhūmāz kolk'li zāhābh

"And they came, both men and women, as many as were willing hearted, and brought bracelets, and earrings, and rings, and tablets, all jewels of gold." (A. V.)

".....brooches and earrings and signet-rings and armlets, all jewels of gold." (R. V., which in the margin gives the alternative reading *nose-rings* for *earrings*).

MOFFATT translates earrings.

In this passage there is another word *hāh*, here translated bracelets or brooches, which means usually a hook or ring put into the nose of animals such as the camel, and which may here mean nose-rings. It does not seem to be used for a human ornament elsewhere.

Proverbs 25, 12

"nezem zāhābh yah'li-khāthem mōkhīah hākhām al-ōzen shōmā'ath"

"As an earring of gold, and an ornament of fine gold, so is a wise reprover upon an obedient ear." (A. V.)

The Revised Version is the same, but gives the marginal alternative *nose-ring*.

"A golden earring, a necklace of rare gold, an apt word is like that." (MOFFATT)

Here the context seems to provide a case for taking the meaning as *earring*, though nose-ring, as in the last passage, has the support of the Revised Version margin.

Hosea 2, 13

"ūphāqadhṭī 'ālehā eth-yēmē habb'ālīm 'asher taqṭīr lāhem watta-'adh nizmāh w'helyāthāh"

"And I will visit upon her the days of Baalim, wherein she burned incense to them, and she decked herself with her earrings and her jewels." (A. V.)

The Revised Version again has *nose-rings* as an alternative reading in the margin.

".....decking herself with rings and jewels" (MOFFATT)

In this last passage there is again a reference to heathen practices. Popular religious ideas required certain ornaments for holy days (compare the Koran, Sura 20 verse 61 : on the day of ornament (i.e. the feast day) be your meeting). There does not seem to be any evidence that nose-rings were regarded as amulets, but they may have been worn with other ornaments on holy days.

There remain four passages where the word *nezem* undoubtedly means nose-ring. In each of these the word is used along with the Hebrew word 'aph, which means nose. They are :

Genesis 24, 47, Proverbs 11, 22, Isaiah 3, 21, Ezekiel 16, 12, Genesis 24, 47.

"wā'āsīm hannezem al-'appāh "

"I put the ear-ring upon her face" (A.V.)

"...the ring on her nose" (R. V. and MOFFATT).

"suspendi in aures ad ornandam faciem eius" (Vulgate)

"kai perietheka aute ta enotia" (Septuagint)

Here the Septuagint, the Vulgate and the Authorised Version all continue to translate earring. They get out of the difficulty created by the presence of the word 'aph, by translating it *face*, which is possible in some contexts. But it is unlikely here, and in any case could hardly stand for *ear*.

Ezekiel 16, 12

"wā'ettēn nezem al-appēkh wa'ghllīm al-oznāyikh "

"I put a jewel on thy forehead, and earrings in thine ears" (A. V.) which also has *nose* as a marginal alternative for *forehead*).

"I put a ring upon thy nose, and earrings in thine ears" (R. V.) MOFFATT is similar.

"et dedi in aurem super os tuum" (Vulgate)

The prophet is here describing the beauty that God has bestowed on Jerusalem, who is depicted as a false woman who has made evil use of the beauty and ornaments that have been given her. There is no doubt at all

that a nose-ring is the ornament referred to. Another word 'aghilim is used for earrings.

Isaiah 3, 21

"haṭṭabbā'ōth w'enizmē hā'āph"

(The word preceding this is *hallēhāshim*, which means *charms* or *amulets* and is translated by the Authorised Version as *earrings*).

"The rings, and nose jewels" (A. V. and R. V.)

"signet-rings and nose-rings" (MOFFATT)

"et annulos et gemmas in fronte pendentēs" (Vulgate)

Here the Vulgate departs from its use of the word *inaures*, and translates by the nondescript word *gemmas*. It uses *inaures* to translate *hallēhāshim* in the preceding verse. This is part of a catalogue of the ornaments worn by the proud women of Jerusalem, who Isaiah says will be made desolate for their pride and luxury.

Proverbs 11, 22

"nezem zāhābh b'aph h'zīr ishshāh yāphā w'ešārath t'ā'ām"

"As a jewel of gold in a swine's snout, so is a fair woman which is without discretion." (A. V. and R. V.)

The Revised Version gives *ring* in the margin as an alternative for *jewel*.

"a golden ring in the snout of a sow. . . ." (MOFFATT)

"circulus aureus in naribus suis" (Vulgate)

"enotion en rini huos" (Septuagint)

Here the word is used humorously in a simile, but it must mean a nose-ring such as ladies wear, as it is in a nose, albeit a pig's nose. MOFFATT makes this clear by translating by the word *sow*. The Vulgate uses yet another word *circulus*, but the Septuagint sticks to *enotion*.

The passage in Genesis 24 tells us something more about the ring in question. In verse 22 it is described as

"nezem zāhābh beqa' mishqālō" "a golden earring of half-a-shekel weight" (A. V.) "a golden ring" (R. V.) "a golden nose-ring weighing a quarter of an ounce" (MOFFATT). This ring was taken by Abraham's servant Eliezer to put on the nose of Rebecca, who was to become the wife of Isaac, Abraham's son.

The passages in which the word *nezem* undoubtedly means nose-ring do not all show a very favourable attitude to such ornaments. This, and the places at which we find the word used, seem to indicate that the nose-ring was a foreign importation, or at any rate regarded as such from the fact that it was used by the heathen tribes with whom the Israelites were surrounded. Isaiah regards the use of nose-rings and other ornaments as symbolic of the pride of the women of Jerusalem, who are to be punished for that very fault and all their finery taken away. This prophecy was probably written about

735 B.C. and Isaiah was protesting against the state of affairs and in particular the luxury of Jerusalem at the beginning of the reign of Ahaz king of Judah. The prophecy of Ezekiel is later, probably at the time of the exile about 596 B.C. Here the nose-rings, with the crown and the earrings, are symbolical of the blessings which God has showered on Jerusalem. But Jerusalem has abused these bounties (verses 15 to 19) and they have been a snare to her ; and as a punishment she will be carried away captive into Assyria.

The section of Genesis from which the first passage (Genesis 22) comes belongs to the so-called Jahwehistic narrative, the date of whose compilation must have been about 850 B.C. The reference to nose-rings must belong to this original writing of the story, or an even earlier tradition and not to the later period when the different parts of which the Pentateuch is made up were put together. It is thus earlier than the other passages just referred to and it is obvious that the giving of the nose-ring as a token is accepted as the natural thing. The story purports to belong to pre-Israelitish times, when the patriarchs were settling in Canaan and had not yet abandoned their nomadic existence. Their way of life may be said therefore to have been akin to that of the Bedawin, with whom they recognised their kinship in the story of the half-brothers Isaac and Ishmael. It is not surprising therefore to find that the Bedawin have kept the custom of using nose-rings to the present day. "The ornaments (of the Bedawin) are bracelets, collars, ear and nose-rings of gold, silver or silver-gilt." (BURTON, *Pilgrimage to Mecca*, page 376.) The supposition is that as the Israelites became a settled people and their nobility grew more luxurious, the wearing of jewels was more and more confined to the rich, and was frowned upon by the stricter sort of religious people.

It does not look as if the origin of the wearing of the nose-ring is to be found among the Hebrews, but the custom might well have come to them from the ancestors they had in common with other Semitic peoples.

THE DĪPAKALIKĀ OF ŚŪLAPĀṆI WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE VYAVAHĀRA SECTION*

By

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI, Dacca.

Prof. KANE rightly observes that next to Jimūtavāhana Śūlapāṇi is the most authoritative Bengali writer on Dharmaśāstra. Recent investigations into the nibandha literature of Bengal have, to a great extent, shaken the claim of Raghunandana to a position next only to Jimūtavāhana. Śūlapāṇi was a pioneer worker in the field. He did the spade-work and made the field smoother and easier for Raghunandana. Raghunandana has drawn profusely upon Śūlapāṇi. Our admiration for the great "Smārta" naturally dwindles away a good deal when we take into consideration many of Śūlapāṇi's texts he incorporated in his works often without acknowledgment, and has thus allowed himself to go perilously to the verge of plagiarism. It was certainly the works of Śūlapāṇi covering an extensive field of the religious law of the Hindus that inspired Raghunandana and supplied him with a model. This is a very probable view and is supported by the absence of earlier writings exactly on the same line. Although the works of Raghunandana are of no small intrinsic value yet the Smārta Bhaṭṭācārya must be said to have built a magnificent edifice of which the foundation was laid down by his worthy predecessor.

Not only in importance but chronologically also Śūlapāṇi comes after Jimūtavāhana as a nibandhakāra in Bengal.

The *Dīpakalikā* is a commentary on the Yājñavalkya-Saṃhitā. It appears to be one of the earliest works of Śūlapāṇi, if not the earliest. Unlike his other works which are ritualistic and have more or less an academic interest only the *Dīpakalikā* relates to practical secular laws. The Yājñavalkya-Saṃhitā is divided into three sections—(1) Ācāra (Religious and moral observances), (ii) Vyavahāra (Civil Judicature), (iii) Prāyaścitta (Penances). The second chapter of the *Dīpakalikā* contains the comments on the legal section (Vyavahāra-adhyāya). Herein we get an insight into the actual legal system in vogue in ancient India, particularly in Bengal, and can gather much material for a comparative study of the British Jurisprudence.

* For details about Śūlapāṇi and his works see (1) *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XI, 1915 (pp. 311-406), (2) *Vrata-kāla-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi, Ed. S. C. BANERJI, (*I. H. Q.*, Dec. 1941), (3) *Bhāratavarṣa—Pauṣa and Māgha*, 1348 B.S., (4) *Sk. Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Oct. 1941, (5) *A volume of studies in Indology* presented to P. V. KANE, (pp. 53 to 62).

The *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* has three great commentaries besides the *Dīpakalikā*. The *Bālakrīḍā* of Viśvarūpa,¹ though simple and forcible in style, is, excepting the Vyavahāra section, extremely voluminous and justly provokes Vijñāneśvara to call it *vikaṭa*² while Vijñāneśvara himself is open to the same charge. His *Mitākṣarā*,³ with its bewildering number of quotations, is really a digest and not a commentary. It belies its name—it is in fact *aparimitākṣarā*. In voluminousness Aparāditya's (or, Aparārka's) commentary⁴ known as the *Aparārka* beats even the *Mitākṣarā* like which this is also a digest. It lacks in lucidity, and the long extracts from the purāṇas indulged in by the author make it very tedious reading. Both Viśvarūpa and Aparārka frequently introduce discussions based on the Pūrvamīmāṃsā and the Vedānta etc. The commentaries on the Ācāra and Prāyaścitta sections are typical of this. These are mazes where many are apt to lose their way. Śūlapāṇi's work is the briefest without sacrifice of lucidity. It is free from any recondite discussions and is written in a non-technical language. It is intelligible even to the ordinary student. The vyavahāra section of the *Bālakrīḍā*, in its brevity and clearness, seems to have inspired Śūlapāṇi. This inference is supported by the fact that Śūlapāṇi mentions Viśvarūpa oftener than he does the other commentators. Śūlapāṇi has very clearly and ably given us an exposition of the then current legal system with a thorough grasp of the subject-matter. This seems to lend colour to the tradition that he was a judge of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. The *Dīpakalikā* is original and comes directly to the text and does not, like other commentaries, especially the subtle and encyclopaedic, though undoubtedly authoritative, *Mitākṣarā*, create a labyrinth by citations of views and counterviews. The *Mitākṣarā* is a book of reference. The *Dīpakalikā* is a lawyer's hand-book. The relation of Śūlapāṇi to Vijñāneśvara is much the same as that of Kullūka to Medhātithi on Manu. Both Śūlapāṇi and Kullūka aim at simplification and preparation of "made-easies".

The stupendous digests of Viśvarūpa, Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka could not satisfy the needs of the general readers of Bengal. They were bored with polemic discussions and hair-splitting niceties. The *Dīpakalikā* came just in time and supplied the longfelt need. Śūlapāṇi could not escape the influence of Vijñāneśvarā. It would have been surprising if he could or if he did. But he has never blindly followed the *Mitākṣarākāra*, and had always an open mind and the courage and independence to differ where difference was necessary. For example, Vijñāneśvarā explains Pūrvavādī (Yāj. II, 17. N. S. P.) as that person who asserts to have first acquired and

1. Ed. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī ; Trivandrum Sk. Series, 1922.

2. Cp. विश्वरूपविकटोक्तिवस्तुतम् —N. S. Press Ed. of the *Yājñavalkya-Samhitā* (p. 1, l. 3).

3. (i) N. S. Press Ed., Bombay 1926.

(ii) Ed. Setlur, Madras.

4. Ānandāśrama Sk. Series, Poona, 1904.

enjoyed the disputed property and not the first complainant.⁵ Śūlapāṇi rejects this and interprets Pūrvavādī as the complainant.⁶ The word अप्रतिष्ठिता (under Yāj. II. 117, N. S. P.) also has been differently interpreted.⁷ Instances of such differences are many.

The Mss. of this important work of Śūlapāṇi are not many. Besides the one in the India Office, there are only three copies of this book. They belong respectively to—

- (1) Śrīnātha Śiromaṇi of Navadvīpa.⁸
- (2) University of Dacca.⁹
- (3) Govt. Sk. College, Calcutta.¹⁰

On a comparison of the last two Mss that were available at the time of writing this paper it seems that there were two recensions of the *Dīpakalikā*. The shorter recension is represented by the Sanskrit College Ms. which omits a number of verses and also a considerable portion of the commentary as found in the Dacca University Ms. The Sanskrit College Ms. in places copies verbatim from the *Mitākṣarā*. Such infringements cannot be expected of a renowned scholar like Śūlapāṇi. For these considerations the Dacca University Ms. seems to be the genuine *Dīpakalikā*. The other one is undoubtedly corrupt. For this corruption the scribe may possibly be responsible. He perhaps was a follower of the *Mitākṣarā* and could not get out of its influence, and unconsciously incorporated the *Mitākṣarā* while copying down the *Dīpakalikā*.

Besides a faithful commentary the Dacca University Ms. also contains a full list of verses of Yājñavalkya commented upon by Śūlapāṇi. This list must have been made according to the recension of Yājñavalkya recognised in Bengal. The verses in this list differ considerably from those given in the N. S. Press Ed. which probably represents the South Indian recension of the *Yājñavalkya-Saṃhitā*.

It is a remarkable circumstance that Śūlapāṇi does not even mention Jīmūtavāhana or his works although his views on the Dāyabhāga section seem to agree substantially with those of Jīmūtavāhana.

As has already been said the *Dīpakalikā* seems to be the earliest work of Śūlapāṇi, for, contrary to his usual practice, the author does not mention

5. Cp. पूर्वस्मिन् काले मया प्रतिग्रहीतमुपभुक्तं चेति यो वदति असौ पूर्ववादी न पुनर्यः पूर्वं निवेदयति N. S. P. p. 129, l. 9.

6. Cp. भाषावादिनः साक्षिणो ग्राह्याः, न तु पूर्वकथवादिनः इति व्याख्यानं युक्तं, “आद्यौ प्रतिग्रहे कीते पूर्वा तु बलवत्तराः (Yāj. II. 23 b, N. S. P.) इत्यादिना पौनरुक्त्यापत्तेः.

7. Cp. Mit.—अप्रतिष्ठिता निर्धनाः (Yājñavalkya-Saṃhitā, N. S. P.—p. 203).

Dīpa,—अप्रतिष्ठिता अनपत्या निर्धना अभर्तृका दुर्भगाश्च.

8. *Notices of Sk. Mss.* by MITRA, Vol. III., Page 104, No. 1147.

9. No. 609.

10. No. II, 78.

here any other book of himself. Śūlapāṇi subsequently elaborated certain sections of this earlier work into such authoritative books as the *Śrāddha-viveka*, the *Prāyaścitta-viveka* and the *Sambandha-viveka*.

Many of the quotations from the Dharmaśāstras in the *Dīpakalikā* cannot be located because they are not found either in the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the *Unaviṃśasamhitā* or the *Smṛtīnām Samuccaya*. The absence of these verses in the above editions is explainable by the surmise that there probably existed different recensions of the works now entirely lost, and seems to prove the antiquity of Śūlapāṇi's works. Many of the verses of Kātyāyana may be located with the help of the excellent edition of the *Kātyāyana-smṛti-sāroddhāra*.

The following works and authors are mentioned in the Vyavahāra section of the *Dīpakalikā* :—

Kātyāyana, Manu, Bṛhaspati, Nārada, Vyāsa, Rāmāyaṇa, Vasiṣṭha, Saṃvarta, Gautama, Viṣṇu, Pitāmaha, Devala, Śaṅkha-Likhita, Bṛddhamanu, (sometimes Bṛhanmanu) Uśanas, Marīci, Hārīta.

DESCRIPTION OF MANUSCRIPTS OF THE DĪPAKALIKĀ.

Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms. No. II. 78.

Size : 17½" × 4".

Folios : 1-73. Complete.

Characters : Bengali.

Lines : 8 lines to a page except the last which contains 4.

Material : Brown Indian paper.

Beginning— श्रीगणेशाय नमः । अशेषकलषध्वंसि नत्वा कृष्णपदाम्बुजं etc.

End : आचारपालनार्थं मङ्गलार्थं वेति ॥

Colophon : इति साहुडिया महामहोपाध्याय श्रीशूलपाणिविरचितायां याज्ञवल्क्यटीकायां तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

Post-colophon : याज्ञवल्क्यप्रमाणं ॥ ६८३ ॥ श्रीरामचन्द्राय नमः ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमो नमः ॥ ० ॥ श्रीराधामाधवाय नमोनमः ॥

Scribe : Rāmacaraṇa (written on fol. 1(a) in English).

Date : 14th September, 1824 A.D. (")

Remarks : The Ms. abounds in slips of pen and marginal corrections. It does not seem to be the genuine commentary of Śūlapāṇi because certain portions of the *Mitākṣarā* are copied verbatim in it. A considerable portion of the commentary as found in the other Ms. are omitted by it. Many verses are not commented upon. This Ms. seems to have been copied by somebody (may be a teacher) for the Govt. Sanskrit College, Calcutta, because the following is written on fol. 1 a :—

दीपकलिकासंपूर्ण

Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

Written by Rāmacaraṇa. 14 Sept. 1824.

Decca University Ms. No. 602.

Size : 19½" × 4½".

Folios : 1-130. Complete.

Characters : Bengali.

Line : Six lines to a page on an average.

Material : Brown Country paper worn out at the edges, dampsoiled.

Beginning : ॐ नमो दुर्गायै नमः । अशेषकलुषध्वंसि नत्वा गिष्णोः पदाम्बुजम् etc.

End : चातुर्वर्णस्येति । त्रयाणां वेदानां समाहारः त्रयी तस्यार्थः (१) प्रकाशकमिति यावदिति ।

Colophon : इति सहुडियानोपाध्याय श्रीशूलपाणिविरचितायां याज्ञवल्क्यटीकायां दीपक-
लिकायां तृतीयोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥

Scribe and date—?

Remarks : Fairly correct with rare marginal corrections, Contains a full list of verses (on the upper and lower margins) commented upon by Śūlapāṇi.

MISCELLANY

CANDEŚVARA'S INDEBTEDNESS TO ŚRĪDATTĀ

Mr. (now Mahāmahopādhyāya) P. V. KANE has devoted section 89 (pp. 363-5) of his *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. I¹ to Śrīdattā Upādhyāya and has said on p. 365, 'The *Samaya-pradīpa* is mentioned in the *Kṛtyaratnākara* (pp. 400, 479, 505) of Candēśvara and in Śūlapāṇi's *Durgotsavaviveka*. Śrīdattā is more frequently quoted in the *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī* of Govindānanda than almost any other author or work.' The above statement of Mr. KANE does not contain an exhaustive list of the authors or works quoting Śrīdattā, as the latter is also quoted by Vācaspati Miśra in his several *Cintāmaṇis* and by Raghunandana in his several *Taittvas*. But we are concerned in this paper only with Candēśvara's indebtedness to Śrīdattā, as both belonged to Mithilā and as the latter 'flourished a short time before the former and must have composed his works between 1275 and 1310 A.D.², while 'the literary activities of Candēśvara extended for about 50 years from 1314³.' The *Kṛtyaratnākara* of Candēśvara was edited by the late MM. Kamala-Krishna SMRITITIRTHA and published⁴ just five years before the publication of Mr. KANE'S *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. I. But though Mr. KANE has utilised in his *History* the information about Candēśvara's quoting the *Samaya-pradīpa*, from the index (p. 641) to the *Kṛtyaratnākara*, he has not traced the quotations in the Deccan College MS.⁵ of the former, which he has otherwise fully utilised in his descriptions of Śrīdattā Upādhyāya (pp. 363-5) and Dhāreśvara Bhojadeva (pp. 275-9). So we propose to trace in this paper those quotations from the *Samaya-pradīpa* and thus establish Candēśvara's indebtedness to Śrīdattā, which is an interesting phenomenon in the history of Dharmasāstra literature in view of the fact that both Śrīdattā and Candēśvara belonged to the same part of the country and were not separated by any appreciable interval of time.

Though the index to the *Kṛtyaratnākara* contains eight entries against the *Samaya-pradīpa*, Mr. KANE has stated three in his remark, quoted above and I have succeeded in finding out two more quotations⁶ from the *Samaya-pradīpa* in the *Kṛtyaratnākara* (pp. 233, 510). Śrīdattā has also been quoted once in the *Kṛtyaratnākara* (p. 66) but the quotation is from his work '*Sandhyāprayoga*', as stated therein. The *Gṛhashtaratnākara*⁷ of Candēśvara has also quoted twice (pp. 195, 203) '*Śrīdattāhnikā*', i.e. Śrīdattā's work on Ahnikā, which may be the *Chandogāhnikā*, said to be one of Śrīdattā's works.⁸ Of the ten quotations from the *Samaya-pradīpa*, I have identified all in the Deccan College MS. of the same. Before describing these identifications, I wish to make two short remarks.⁹ One of them is that the first chapter of the *Samaya-pradīpa* is not called '*Samayaparicheda*,' as stated by Mr. KANE but '*Samaya-pradīpe prathamah paricchedah*.'¹⁰ The other is that the correct form of the name, somewhat indistinct on folio 7a of the D. C. MS. of the *Samaya-pradīpa* and appearing to be '*Mitāmītrādibhiḥ*', is '*Jitāmītrādibhiḥ*',

1. Published by the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1930.

2. *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. I, p. 365.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 372.

4. B. I., 1925.

5. No. 371 of 1875-76.

6. Edited by MM. Kamalakrishna SMRITITIRTHA, B. I., 1928.

7. Vide p. 364, *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. I.

8. Vide folio 31a.

as the whole extract, beginning with 'yadi tu ekādaśimupavaset' and ending with 'prapañcitam Jitāmitrādibhiḥ', has been quoted by Raghunandana in his *Ekādaśitattva*⁶ (pp. 45-46) with the words 'tathā ca samayapradīpe Śrīdattopādhyāyāḥ' and 'ityāhuḥ', added just before and after the extract respectively.

The first quotation (p. 233) from the S. P. occurs in the *Śrāvaṇakṛtya* of the K. R. and is to the effect that the S. P., after quoting the first only of the previously written verses, has said that bitter, pungent, sour and sweet things are eaten in order. This quotation is found on folio 36a of the MS. of the S. P. The second and third quotations (pp. 400, 401) occur in the *Kārtikākṛtya* of the K. R. and are found on folios 9b and 17b respectively of the MS. of the former. The second is the interpretation of a text on the grāś allow d in *haviṣya* diet and the third is the mention of the fact that the word 'bahiḥsnāyī', occurring in a text on p. 400, has been read as 'nityasnāyī' in the S. P. and 'nityasnāna' has been interpreted as 'prāṭahsnāna' in the same on the authority of Śaṅkha. The fourth quotation (p. 479) occurs in the *Pauṣamāsakṛtya* of the K. R. and is found on folio 47a of the MS. of the S. P. It is to the effect that the S. P. is of opinion that cakes (apūpa) are to be taken by the Chandogas and Vājasaneyas according to their Gṛhyasūtras while vegetables (śāka) by the Kaṭhas and that both cakes and vegetables may be taken optionally by those whose Gṛhyasūtras contain no specific prescription on the same. The fifth and sixth quotations (pp. 505, 510) occur in the *Māghakṛtya* of the K. R. and are found on folios 16b and 48a respectively of the MS. of the S. P. The fifth quotation is to the effect that according to the S. P. the procedure (itikartavyatā) of the *vrata*, referred to above, is derived from the previous words beginning with 'māghamāse tu yo brahman'. The sixth quotation is rather a big one and covers the whole of p. 509 and the first six lines on p. 510. It is found in the MS. of the S. P. (from folio 47b to folio 48a) and concerns itself with the detailed rites of 'māghasaptami'. The seventh quotation (p. 522) occurs in the *Phālgunakṛtya* of the K. R. and is found on folio 49b of the MS. of the S. P. It is the mention of a different reading in the S. P. of a text of the Brahmapurāṇa, quoted just above and Caṇḍeśvara adds that this reading of the S. P. is different from that adopted by the *Kṛtyasamuccaya*, *Kalpataru* and others. The eighth quotation (p. 540) occurs in the *Prakṛṇakṛtya* of the K. R. after the verse 'tilodvartī... nāvāsīdati' and is found on folio 50b of the MS. of the S. P. It is to the effect that the S. P. is of opinion that the above general prescription about the six-fold application of sesame really holds good in one's birthday ceremonies. The ninth and tenth quotations (pp. 633, 637) occur in the *Vratacintā* section of the K. R. and are found on folios 3a and 6b to 7a of the MS. of the S. P. The ninth is the definition of the word 'vrata' by the author of S. P. and is to the effect that *vrata* is a continuous resolve, regarding one's religious duties and the tenth is the decision of the S. P., in case one *tilhi* falls on two days.

Abbreviations.

- S. P. = Samayapradīpa.
K. R. = Kṛtyaratnākara.
D. C. = Deccan College.

Appendix of the quotations.

1. अत्र च कल्पे समयप्रदीपे प्रथमश्लोकमात्रं लिखित्वा तिक्-कटु-कषाय-मधुराणां क्रमेण भक्षणमाचरन्तीत्युक्तम् ।

2. समयप्रदीपे—प्रथमं यवास्तदलाभे माष-क्रोद्रव-चणक-सर्षप-मसूर-चीन-कपित्थवर्जमन्यदप्यन्नं सैन्धवं मानससम्भवं लवणं तत्तु साम्भरि इति प्रसिद्धमिति ।

3. समयप्रदीपे अत्र श्लोके नित्यस्नायीति पाठो लिखितः, नित्यस्नानं प्रातःस्नानमिति व्याख्यातं नित्यस्नानं प्रातःस्नानमिति शङ्कोक्तेरिति हेतुरुक्तः ।

4. समयप्रदीपस्तु छन्दोग-वाजसनेययोः स्वगृह्यानुसारादपूपः कठानान्तु शाकमिति व्यवस्था । यस्य तु स्वगृह्यादौ विशेषाश्रयणं तस्य तुल्यवद्विकल्प एवेत्याह ।

5. तदितिकर्तव्यता माघमासे तु यो ब्रह्मन् इत्यादिभिरग्निमवाक्यैः प्रतिपाद्यत इति समयप्रदीपः ।

6. ब्रह्मपुराणे—

शुक्लायां माघसप्तम्यां
... .. नमस्ते सूर्यमण्डले ॥

इति मन्त्रेणार्थं दद्यात् । तथाष्टम्यां देवादितर्पणं विधाय भीष्माय जलदानम् । तच्च दैवविधिना ।

वैयाघ्रपद्यगोत्राय साङ्कृतिप्रवराय च ।

अषुत्राय जलं दद्यान्नमस्ते भीष्मवर्मणे ॥

इति मन्त्रेण । एतस्य गौडस्मृतिराचरो वा प्रापकं प्रमाणमिति ।

तद्वलात् सर्ववर्णविषयता । असवर्णजलदाननिषेधस्तु प्रकरणादपि भ्रात्रादिविषय इति समय-प्रदीपः ।

7. समयप्रदीपे गरुडोऽग्निर्वरुणस्तथेति पाठः । स च कृत्यसमुच्चय-कल्पतरुप्रश्नतिपाठविरुद्धः । But the MS. of the S. P. reads रुद्रोऽग्निर्वरुणस्तथा, while K. R. reads रुद्रोऽग्नि-ब्राह्मणस्तथा.

8. अत्र च —

तिलोद्वर्त्तं तिलस्नायी शुचिर्नित्यं तिलोदकी ।

होता दाता च भोक्ता च षट्तिली नावसीदति ॥

इति सामान्यवचनं नित्यपदाजस्यमुल्लङ्घ्य जन्मदिने योजयन्तीति समयप्रदीपः ।

9. समयप्रदीपकारैः स्वकर्तव्यविषयो नियतः संकल्पो व्रतमित्युक्तम् ।

10. समयप्रदीपेऽपीदमुभयदिनतिथिद्वय-वेधे एतद्वोद्धव्यमिति नावतारितम् । किन्तु सामा-न्यत एव ।

REVIEWS AND BOOK-NOTES

A Union List of Printed Indic Texts and Translations in American Libraries compiled by M. B. EMENEAU (= American Oriental Series 7). American Oriental Society, New Haven, 1935. Pp. xv, 540, \$ 2.00.

The present work marks a new phase in the history of Indian studies in America, for the Indic material in printed editions is so vast and scattered that even the British Museum Catalogue of printed books is not sufficient to exhaust the list. It is therefore a matter of satisfaction that American scholarship in the Indic field has now the use of this Union List, compiled by Mr. EMENEAU with the willing cooperation of all the Libraries stocking Indic texts and published deservedly by the American Oriental Society, wherein all the texts available up to 1932 and some in 1933-34 are listed in a subject-wise index with full reference to the library numbers. The list includes all books in Sanskrit, Pāli, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa and most of the books in the older stages of the vernaculars, including translations of texts. The major sections include Veda (five subsections), Epic, Purāṇa, Kāvya, Story-Literature, Drama, Poetics, Music and Dancing, Grammar, Lexicon, Prosody, Dharmaśāstra and Smṛti, Philosophy and Religion (seven subsections), Mathematics, Astronomy and Astrology, Architecture and Iconography, Artha and Nītiśāstras, Ratnaśāstra, Divination, Medicine, Veterinary Science, Ars amatoria and miscellaneous Sanskrit works; Buddhist and Jain texts, and finally Vernacular texts covering 18 languages. This is followed by a list of the more important serial publications of texts, an index of authors, of titles and a miscellaneous index. Altogether 4491 publications are listed in this Union Catalogue.

Mr. EMENEAU has rendered the greatest service to Indic studies in America by compiling at great trouble to himself this splendid Union List thereby saving other American Indologists from unnecessary correspondence and the trouble to locate definite texts in the various scattered libraries of the United States. Its usefulness to Indian scholars must also be mentioned here because with the exception of the great Provincial centres, none of the libraries contain bibliographical information of this kind, and the British Museum Catalogues are not within the means of the average scholar or the average libraries. It is time that the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference should wake up to their responsibilities in this matter and prepare a Union List of Indic texts (printed) on this basis and enable scholars to trace the publications they require for their personal or departmental investigations. Cooperation for this scheme should come from all the member-institutes.

S. M. K.

A Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, compiled by H. I. POLEMAN. (= American Oriental Series Volume 12). American Oriental Society, New Haven, 1938. Pp. xxix, 542. \$ 2.00.

If Mr. EMENEAU's work is useful for Indologists in America, Mr. POLEMAN's *Census* is indispensable to scholars all over the world, for here is the Mss. material, though not quite comparable to that lying in European Archives, still very important for a *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Indic Mss. There are altogether 7273 main entries in the volume with an Appendix listing uncatalogued and special collections. The list includes all Mss. in Sanskrit, Pāli, Prakrit, the older and modern stages of the vernaculars, various Dravidian languages and the languages of Greater India,

including Burma, Ceylon, Siam and Tibet. For the most part only texts composed prior to 1800 A.D. have been included. It is specially interesting to observe here that the American collections of Mss. include a large number of unedited texts. As in the previous work reviewed, here too full references to the library number of each Ms. described are included. The Vedic section consists of 805 Mss. while the other sections include them as follows: Epic 806-1008; Purāṇas 1009-1624; Lyric Poetry 1625-1657; Religious Law 2814-3443; Philosophy 3493-4667; Jyotiṣa 4668-5285; among the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars Hindi claims the largest group of Mss. The index of titles and authors makes the reference to the main book very easy; to this the editor has added an index of scripts, an index of illustrated Mss. If an index to dated Mss. was also given in the chronological order the usefulness of the work would have been considerably augmented, but we are thankful to Mr. POLEMAN and the American Oriental Society that their combined efforts have given us a reliable guide to the Manuscript funds deposited in the many widely scattered libraries of the United States and brought them to the notice of scholars and particularly Indologists all over the world.

Mr. POLEMAN'S activities in the allied but invaluable field of microfilming are too well known to need mention here. During his recent visit to India he has been able to establish contacts with most of the Mss. libraries here and through the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal provide the means of microfilming Indic Mss. from Indian sources. Indian libraries may in return requisition microfilms of important Indic Mss. now described in this *Census*. Nearly 3000 Mss. are found in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania and 2500 at the Widener Library at Harvard University. The other collections are insignificant as to number, but most of them include valuable Mss. The get up of the volume by the photo-lithographic process from perfect typescript has made it possible to issue the volume at so moderate a price. No library or Indologist dealing with Mss. can afford to be without a copy of this volume.

S. M. K.

A Pillared Hall from a Temple at Madura, India, in the Philadelphia Museum of Art by W. Norman BROWN. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1940. Pp. xii, 88; 62 Figures. Price 2 Dollars.

The pillared hall or *mandapam* from Madura is the only stone temple ensemble in America, belonging to the Philadelphia Museum of Art and now installed in a gallery on the top floor of the south wing of the main building at Fairmount. No other museum anywhere can show such a large grouping of integrated architectural units from a single building in India, which, in the present case, constituted part of a temple in Madura, defaced possibly in the eighteenth century by a Mohammedan conqueror. The pieces constituting this pillared hall were originally acquired in Madura by Adeline Pepper GIBSON in 1912 from Madura, and on her death in 1919 at Nantes in the military service of the United States, they were presented to the Philadelphia Museum of Art in her memory by Mrs. J. Howard GIBSON, Mrs. J. Norman HENRY and Mr. Henry C. GIBSON. In 1934-35 Prof. BROWN visited the site of the temple at Madura so as to secure information that might assist in the future installation of the pieces, and the present work is the result of such investigations that he was able to make during this period.

In the first chapter Prof. BROWN discusses the age and importance of Madura, known in history from the third century B.C. Until the eleventh century the Pāṇḍyan kings ruled there with varying degrees of independence, succeeded by the Colas; in 1310 the Mohammedans took it and held it for 50 years when it was in-

incorporated in the great Vijayanagar kingdom. Ruled at first by viceroys called Nāyakas, the Nāyakas constituted a dynasty, the greatest of whom was Tirumala (1623-59). In 1762 the British officers took charge of it nominally in behalf of the state then owning it and in 1801 this state ceded all authority to the East India Company. The importance of Madura as the greatest temple city in South India is then discussed. The surviving monuments come mostly from the sixteenth century onwards, but remains from older periods can be seen incorporated in buildings, having been used for repair or reconstruction.

The second chapter deals with South Indian Temple architecture in great detail, taking account of such factors as the corbel, the *kūdu*, pillars with bulbous capital or square capital and the ground plan in a historical sequence.

The architectural units in the Maṇḍapam described consist of 16 simple columns averaging 8' 2" in height, 14 compound columns varying from 8' 4" to 8' 6" in height, 12 corbels, 12 lion capitals and 8 frieze slabs. In the third chapter Prof. BROWN discusses them minutely and arrives at the conclusion that their probable dating is about the end of the Vijayanagara period. The fourth chapter is devoted to a discussion of the sculpture and iconography of the *maṇḍapam*. Among the deities represented are Viṣṇu (four-armed and two-armed), Kṛṣṇa, Indra, Brahmā, Sūrya(?), Lakṣmī, Garuḍa, Bali(?) and a Grāmadevatā; the semidivine beings are represented by gandharva, kiṁnara, kimpuruṣa or bhāruṇḍa, apsaras, yakṣa and haṁsa; there are epic figures from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, the ṛṣis, ālvār and Rāmānujācārya; in addition to these there is much conventionalized foliage ornamentation. The iconography is Vaiṣṇava, but overlaps at only a few points the Saiva iconography.

The fifth chapter is a minute description of the columns, the sixth of the frieze depicting the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. The 62 illustrations included at the end of the volume make the whole book very interesting, for one can easily follow the arguments of Prof. BROWN by referring to them constantly; a visit to the Museum of Art at Pennsylvania is not necessary except to have a first-hand view of the integrated *maṇḍapam*. A useful index completes this unique study which is unique not only for the fortunate circumstances of the pieces coming from a single structure but also for the care and judgment with which Prof. BROWN goes about his task. It is a definite addition to the already swelling publications on Indian archaeology.

S. M. K.

The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Books Nineteen and Twenty, edited with Critical Notes by Leroy Carr BARRET (American Oriental Series, Volume 18). American Oriental Society, New Haven, 1940. Pp. 153. \$ 2.00.

With the present volume the Kashmirian recension of the Atharva Veda has now been completed by the American Oriental Society. It was in 1901 that the facsimile of the manuscript of this Kashmirian Atharva Veda was published when the Vedic Seminar at Johns Hopkins University began to study it. The present editor was one of the scholars attending that seminar and at BLOOMFIELD'S suggestion he edited the first book as a thesis for the doctorate and it was published in 1905. Since that time, as both BLOOMFIELD and GARBE had become interested in other fields, Prof. BARRET continued his work on this text, and the volume under review brings to an end the labour of forty years. It is natural that the editor should feel regret that a more satisfactory text has not been established for the Atharva Veda bristles with unsolved problems, and it seems to me that all future Vedic research must concern itself, not so much with the R̥gveda, as with the

Atharva Veda. It was long ago felt by ROTH, GARBE, BLOOMFIELD and others that the present recension of the AV. is valuable and that profitable studies can be made of its relations to other texts, though BARRET modestly remarks that 'the contribution of this text in the matter of variant readings is large but neither very valuable nor negligible'. It is precisely for this reason that the AV is important, for these readings which are neither very valuable nor negligible have an importance which should be studied carefully by Vedic scholars; for important variants are generally consciously made while negligible variants may indicate some minor variation; but those which are neither have an independent existence in the tradition and deserve to be studied with all care and with thoroughness. It is a matter of deep satisfaction to all Vedic scholars that within these forty years the entire text is available in the transliterated form with critical notes; and although the long period has made uniformity in editing not feasible, the fact that the editor has completed a concordance of the pādas of this text is worthy of notice and any information which is contained therein will be available to scholars on request from Prof. BARRET.

The editorial principles employed here are the same as those used for Books 16-18, and need no special remarks here. We congratulate the American Oriental Society and Prof. BARRET on the successful conclusion of a work which commenced at the turn of the century, but which will be, so far as studies in AV are concerned, the beginning of a new intensive study of this important but all-too unintelligible text. It is also a matter of satisfaction that the Dēvanāgarī edition of the Paippalādasamhitā of AV is being published serially by the International Academy of Indian Culture at Lahore in excellent form; it is to be hoped that AV in its existing recensions will draw the attention of Vedic Seminars in this country and particularly in this province where the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan and the Deccan College Research Institute are specializing in Vedic studies.

S. M. K.

A College Text-book of Indian History by R. SATHIANATHAIER. Volume I: India down to A.D. 1200, 1940; Volume II: India from A.D. 1200 to 1700, 1941. Pp. vi, 404, xlv; xv, 631, xx. Rochouse and Sons, Ltd., 292, The Esplanade, Madras.

When India is awaking to a sense of her national importance in world culture and Indian Historians girding themselves to write an Indian History of India it would indeed be a bold scholar who would undertake to write a history such as this that we have before us, and we have no hesitation in congratulating Mr. SATHIANATHAIER on the result of his arduous labours in the shape of two volumes which brings the history of India up to 1700 A.D. only.

The first volume deals with the Hindu period from the Vedic age down to 1200 A.D. The introductory chapter rightly treats of the geographical factor in Indian history; history as such is treated in the next seven chapters, dealing respectively with the Vedic age (c. 2000 c. to 600 B.C.), Saisunāga-Nanda period (c. 600-c. 325 B.C.), Maurya period (c. 325-c. 188 B.C.), the dark period between the second century B.C. to the third century A.D., the Gupta age (300-600 A.D.), post-Gupta period (600-900) and India from 900-1200. The last chapter summarises the Indian colonisation of Greater India and the achievements thereof. Nine maps indicate, besides these seven epochs in Indian history, Prehistoric India and Greater India. The book is particularly addressed to college students and not to research scholars. This explains to a great deal why the original sources, though very well utilized in the

writing of the history, are not indicated to the extent which scholarship would demand. Similarly absence of diacritical marks makes the pronunciation of Indian names haphazard.

A few plates would have added immensely to the general value of the volume, but considering the price of Rs. 2-8-0 and the size of the volume this has not been practicable.

The second volume deals with the Muslim period of Indian History, starting with the Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1526), the Mughal Empire (1526-1605), interspersed with an account of Hindu India (1200-1336, 1200-1500), Greater India (1200-1500) and South India. Naturally the order of the chapters is determined by the course of the narrative which runs from the Sultanate of Delhi to South India, the Malabar and Bahmani Sultanates, Orissa and Vijayanagar, Greater India, Moghal Empire, South India in the sixteenth century, and the Mughal Empire and South India in the seventh century. Each of the nine chapters is illustrated with a map and the remarks made above for the first volume hold good for this also. Mr. SATHIANATHAIER has succeeded in packing these two well-printed volumes with comprehensive and very interesting material which we expect will make the study of Indian history in all its multiform development an attractive subject for study by the students of our Universities. The only suggestion we would like to make here is that the author should give, at the end of the final volume, a select bibliography for the use of such students who, being attracted to the study of Indian history by these volumes, would like to dive deeply into the sources of such history. The two indexes (one for each volume) have been prepared with care and leave nothing to be desired.

S. M. K.

Second Supplementary Catalogue of Bengali Books in the Library of the British Museum acquired during the years 1911-1934, compiled by the Late J. F. BLUMHARDT and J. V. S. WILKINSON. London, 1938, Columns 678.

The present catalogue records the accessions to the Bengali section acquired during the years 1910 to 1934, a considerable number of the titles being written by the late Mr. J. F. BLUMHARDT, and the remainder being the work of Mr. WILKINSON, Assistant Keeper in the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Mss. The principles of preparation are the same as those employed in the earlier volumes. The General Index of titles and the select subject index make reference to any entry an easy task. It is needless to remark here that the Catalogues published by the British Museum are indispensable with reference to printed matter in India, as every copy, more or less, of published volumes is automatically deposited there. Thus these catalogues are the most complete guides to printed Indic matter, and the policy of the Museum in issuing these supplementary catalogues is of great value to scholars working in the different fields.

S. M. K.

Pūṣan in the Rig-Veda by Samuel D. ATKINS, 28 Edwards Place, Princeton, N. J., 1941 (Private Edition). Pp. xiii, 102.

The present well-got up monograph represents a dissertation presented to the Faculty of Princeton University in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and is a 'small portion of a project designed to be a comparative study of

Vedic deities commonly regarded as solar—comparative from an Indo-Iranian and Indo-European point of view'. Accordingly the investigation would first treat their Indian nature from the Rig-Vedic period on to that point of time where the particular deity vanishes, next their Indo-Iranian background (if any) and finally endeavour to solve the question of their Indo-European origin and also to ascertain the importance of the solar concept in Indo-European culture.

In line with the above plan, the author endeavours to examine in the present work Pūṣan's rôle in the Rig-Veda. The entire evidence with reference to Pūṣan is presented in the second part of this volume, with the accented transliterated text, translation and brief notes, which incidentally take note of all the most important published literature of Europe and America and India on Vedic studies. Every stanza in which Pūṣan is mentioned or referred to is taken account of, and we believe this is indeed a very proper procedure that the author has adopted, for the critic will have before him every Sanskrit passage in question and will be able to follow the author's arguments step by step. These arguments are given in the first part which is really the doctrinal part.

In this interpretation of the Rig-Vedic evidence, Mr. ATKINS shows considerable acquaintance with published Vedic literature, and starting with the different schools of interpretation he takes them one by one and examines the grounds on which each is built. Thus Pūṣan is regarded as a solar deity, a lunar deity, a god of the paths, a god identical with Soma, a divine shepherd or apotheosized herdsman, a god connected with Aja Ekapād, a constellation (Auriga) and finally a rain-god. The introduction deals with the adherents of these separate theories; in turn the concept of Pūṣan as a Solar God, a pastoral God, a God of the Paths, a God of Wealth and Benevolence, are considered, and a whole section devoted to his relations with other Gods, followed by his conclusion.

In the conclusion Mr. ATKINS rightly insists on the principle that it is not right to let a word's *supposed etymology* condition or dictate our understanding of what the word represents; this principle has been so much overlooked in Vedic exegesis and particularly in the assigning of functions to the gods represented in the Vedic pantheon that it is refreshing to see scholars of the younger generation, as Mr. ATKINS appears to be, to come out boldly with such sound principles and examine the entire evidence *de novo* without being biased *prima facie* with an etymological analysis which can only be of secondary and complementary value in such an investigation. Thus after the entire examination of the available evidence the author discusses the several etymologies suggested by Indo-Europeanists: SCHULZE, followed by VON BRADKE and DÖHRING connect it with Gr. *pán*, specifically Arcadian *páon* < **pāusōn* as *Uṣas* is connected with *aós* < **āūsōs*. WALDE-POKORNY, while accepting this suggestion, allow a connection with Sk. *puṣyati* < PIE. **peuā*; BERGAIN suggests the base *pū* with suffix *san*, followed by PISCHEL and others < PIE. **pevā*; CHARPENTIER, differing from all the others, starts with Avestan *fsū-san* and equates the Sk. word to **psū-san* < *psū-san*. Mr. ATKINS is inclined to the more orthodox view that Pūṣan is an agent noun based on *puṣyati* indicating the sense 'Prosperor, Bestower of prosperity' possibly symbolizing the bountiful nature of the sun. According to his finding Pūṣan is originally a solar deity of a pastoral people and consequently a deity with pastoral characteristics and functions and the functions of a god of paths, all inherent in his nature and developing more or less contemporaneously.

In this short review it is not possible to enter into the author's interpretation of the Rig-Vedic stanzas; his approach is sympathetic and also scientific; he has utilized all the available sources, including even the most recent publications, to good advantage. There is a good index of epithets applied to Pūṣan in the Rig-Veda followed by an index of problematic words.

The present work opens up a new line of study which is badly needed if Vedic research is to make any progress. The entire Vedic literature will have to be utilized for such studies, and each idea or phase of thought and even each single word will have to be studied in separate monographs of this type without any bias, depending solely on the literary material available but strictly controlled by modern scientific methods of linguistic research. Only in this manner, by first studying the Old Indo-Aryan vocabulary in its space-time context, can the future of comparative linguistics in the Indo-Iranian or Indo-European phase be assured. With the collateral material from Sumerian and Egyptian sources which are bringing to us that eventful period of I-E. migrations into greater prominence and better perspective it is essential that for each attested phase we should have such studies dealing essentially with the space-time development of thought, vocabulary and culture. We hope that Mr. ATKINS will not rest with this inaugural dissertation of his but proceed forthwith with the wider plan he has in mind for which he should utilize the entire Vedic material now available. It is needless to say that such studies should also form part of our University research in India.

S. M. K.

Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collections of Manuscripts deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Volume XVII : Part III : (a) Āgamika Literature, compiled by Hiralal Rasikdas KAPADIA, 1940. Pp. xxxvi, 530. Price Rs. 5.

Volume XIII : Part I—Kāvya, compiled by Parashuram Krishna GODE, 1940. Pp. xxiv, 490. Price Rs. 5.

The work of describing the immense number of Mss. collected by the Government of Bombay, now undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, is progressing beautifully despite the financial stringency which has arrested many useful but necessary activities in the field of scholarship. While the collection was in charge of the Government until the Mss. were finally deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute only the first part of the first volume dealing with Vedic Literature, compiled by the Professors of Sanskrit in the Deccan College, appeared in 1916. The Institute has been able, between 1935 and 1940, to bring out altogether eight volumes of the Catalogue, and the other volumes are in progress. With this rapidity we hope that the entire description of over 20,000 Mss. will be with the scholarly world within a measurable distance of time.

The first of these volumes is the third of the series dealing with the Āgamika literature of the Jains and describes the four Mūlasūtras : (Nos. 644-701) *Uttarādhyaṃyana* with commentaries, (702-720) *Daśavaikālika* and commentaries, (730-1112) *Śaḍāvaśyaka* and comm., and (1113-1160) the fourth series consisting of *Pinḍaniryukti* (1113-1123), *Oghaniryukti* (1124-1142) and *Pāṅśikasūtra* (1143-1160). Prof. KAPADIA has done his compilation with characteristic thoroughness and his volumes will be an outstanding achievement in the field in spite of the severe limitations set on the work of description by the model settled upon by the Institute. The references particularly at the end of the description bid fair to be a comprehensive bibliography of Jain literature.

The second of these deals with the Sanskrit Kāvya literature which includes, besides the Kāvya proper, Caritas, Campūs, etc., in consequence of which the section will require at least three more volumes to itself. The present part which initiates the publication of this section covers 393 Mss. Of the important works *Amaruśataka* and commentaries represent 23 Mss., *Kirātārjunīya* and comm. (73-

115), *Kumārasambhava* (119-152), *GitaGovinda* (174-208), *Nalodaya* (305-324) and *Naiṣadha* (353-393). One of the chief characteristics of this catalogue is the fact that Mr. GODE has been so much acquainted with the Mss. and their chronology that his notes in the reference section are very refreshing. He has corrected the errors of his predecessors in this direction and himself positively contributed new chronological evidence for many of them. While congratulating the Bhandarkar Institute in having so worthy a curator, no reviewer can overlook mentioning the fact that Mr. GODE's contribution to Indian chronology based on first-hand references to these Mss. and others deposited elsewhere mark a definite phase of Indo-logical research in this country.

One feels certain that if the pattern of these catalogues had been somewhat different the material which is at the command of such scholars as Professors GODE and KAPADIA would have enriched them with fresh and often first-rate material which will now be—and has been—published elsewhere in the shape of papers. Perhaps the cost involved in bringing out such volumes has prevented any other plan from being put into operation.

S. M. K.

The Archaeology of Gujarat (including Kathiawar) by H. D. SANKALIA, Bombay, Natwarlal & Co., 1941, Pages xvi plus 268 plus 109 with xli plates comprising 77 figures. Price Rs. 15.

In this work submitted to and accepted by the University of London as a thesis for the Ph. D. degree in archaeology, Dr. SANKALIA has aimed at presenting the entire archaeological material, prehistoric as well as historic, of Gujarat and Kathiawar, gathered by a study of the published works and visits to monuments *in situ* and in the museums of Bombay, Baroda and other places. The author's main purpose at the outset was to correlate the monuments of the region studied with its epigraphs, but here fortune has not favoured his endeavour; 'except in the case of a few monuments of the Cālukyas', he regrets, 'definite relation could not be established between the monuments and the epigraphs, though the latter were systematically examined from the beginning' (p. ii).

The book comprises twelve chapters grouped in five parts—part i—Geography and History; part ii—Architecture and Sculpture; part iii—Cults and Iconography; part iv—Epigraphy and Numismatics, and part v—Administration, Society and Religion with a final chapter on Gujarat and Indian culture. It will be thus clear that the work is no mere assemblage of source-material, but is enlivened throughout by a continuous current of comment and criticism. The last chapter seems to be more a concession to a type of local patriotism which is coming to the fore in all India, but of which we may easily have too much. There are a number of Appendices (A to M) quite handy and useful so far as they go though the purpose of some of them like the one on Brahmanas (E) is not apparent, while others could have been with advantage arranged differently. That on place-names for instance would have been better if arranged alphabetically instead of by dynasties; and the first, and in some respects, the most important appendix comprising the list of inscriptions should have been more detailed and constructed on the model of Kielhorn's and Bhandarkar's lists. The line-blocks of maps and plans are excellently produced, but the reproduction of photographs of buildings and sculptures is not nearly so good, though by no means inadequate.

It is hardly possible or necessary to offer detailed criticisms in a review of a work of this nature; the author has kept clear the distinction between facts and

views, and no one is called upon to take anything on trust without himself testing the evidence; and this is a great merit in a work of reference. One or two small points may, however, be noted in passing. At p. 14 the author asserts that *Gurjjara-nṛpativamśa* means ruler of the Gurjjara country and not of the tribe of the Gurjjaras and bases an inference on it. In a note at p. 29 he places the death of Pulakeśin II doubtfully in 650 A.D.; this seems some years too late, and no reason is given for the departure from the usual date for the occurrence, 642. There are two notes at p. 39 both simply saying 'see below' without any further indication of page or context.

All students of Indian history and archaeology will be grateful to Dr. PANKALIA for this comprehensive and up-to-date survey of the antiquities of Gujarat. The format of the book and its typography reflect great credit on the publishers.

K. A. N.

NOTES AND CORRECTIONS TO "STUDY AND METROLOGY OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS" BY D. D. KOSAMBI

- p. 2, l. 16, for *about* read *before*. p. 4, l. 25 for *possible* read *probable*.
- p. 8: The Sanskrit quotation at the end of the first paragraph seems to refer to mantric hand-gestures, according to the illustrations and comment in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, No. 1064 of the Taishō edition.
- p. 9. The small paragraph in the middle is to be omitted entirely.
- p. 10, l. 30, omit *the*; l. 33, for *would*, read *could*. Lines 8-13; the real argument for calling the "crescent-on-arches" mark Mauryan is that it does not occur on a single coin of the earlier Taxila hoard. Lines 38-40. As Jain sources claim Candragupta to have come from a *Moriya-grāma*, there is a chance of the arches symbolizing locality of descent or origin of the family; not of the coin in any case.
- p. 18, l. 5, for *hundreth* read *hundredth*. p. 19, l. 29, for कर्षापणस्तु read कर्षापणस्तु
- p. 20, l. 34, for *saddhassi* read *saddahassi*; l. 39, for *galhā* read *gāthā*.
- p. 23, first sentence of the paragraph beginning on this page, insert brackets before *for* and after *debtors*.
- p. 24, l. 9, insert *Indian* before *cities*; l. 15, read *unormal* for *abnormal*; l. 35, read *accession* for *coronation*.
- p. 25, l. 35, for *standard* read *source*.
- p. 30, the entry for 2 rev. marks, s², round coins must be .5926, not 59.26.
- p. 31, l. 28, for *weight* read *mean weight*; l. 32, for *existing* read *surviving* for *preceding*, read *next*.
- p. 33, paragraph at the bottom of the page: *vyāji* seems to have affinities with the Old Persian for tribute—*manā bājim abaraha* in the inscriptions of Darius.
- p. 34, l. 17, for *hoard* read *horde*; l. 11, for *Maurya* read *Mauryan*.
- p. 35, insert "*to be concluded*" at the end.
- p. 54. For the continuation of the remarks in the first half of the page, see *Current Science*, X, 1941, pp. 372-373; 395-400.

- p. 55, l. 10, for *selection* read *non-random selection*, p. 57, l. 31, for *become* read *became*, p. 60, l. 6, after ~~weight~~ insert *and decreasing variance*.
- p. 63; l. 13, for *paurāṇic* read *purāṇic*; l. 23, read *Andracottos* for *Andracattos*, p. 64, the reference to Cāṇakya is in 35, not 36, p. 65, at the end of line 4, insert *the*. Last sentence of middle paragraph, add "or coins of Nahapāna counter-struck by Śātakarni."
- p. 67, l. 8: The difference between marks 86 and 87 is quite real, and may serve to explain the two Asokas of Buddhist tradition. When Buddhist records came to be written up in the days of Asoka, people must have been puzzled by coins of an older epoch still in circulation, but with virtually the same royal *mudrā* as that of the ruling monarch, Asoka. The natural tendency here would be to call the forgotten king another and older Asoka, hence Kāśāsoka.
- p. 68, l. 7, for *Youdheyānām* read *Yodheyānām*. Many supposed clay seals have been proved to be moulds by Birbal Shani, *Current Science* 1941, 65-67.
- p. 70, the inequality for $p(x)$ should be reversed, pp. 72-3. The main reason for skewness is, of course, the mixture of coins of varying ages, p. 73, l. 11, for *excepted*, read *expected*. p. 75, reference 10, add LÜDERS, *Die Säkischen Münz*, Sitz. Preuss. Akad. Wiss. 1918-19. Reference 26: Dr. V. G. PANSE of Indore points out that the material presented by EDEN and YATES was afterwards recognized by the authors as unsuitable for the purpose. P. 76, ref. 31, the second reference should be replaced by *Quarterly Journal of the Mytkic Society*, XIII, 1923, 776-7.

Poona

D. D. KOSAMBI

N. B. Page references are to the paper as it actually appeared in *NIA*, Vol. 3. For the author's reprints, page numbers after 35 are to be reduced by 14.

PŪṢAN, THE PASTORAL GOD OF THE VEDA

By

R. N. DANDEKAR, Poona.

Vedic gods often seem to possess very complex characters. The descriptions in the Vedic hymns usually bring forth so many different traits of a single god that it is not always easy to determine the original nature and the later development of his personality. In this respect, Pūṣan may be regarded to be a particularly curious and enigmatic figure among the pantheon of the Vedic gods. This god is celebrated alone in eight hymns of the *Rgveda*, with Indra in one hymn, with Soma in one, and is mentioned with several other deities in about fifty-eight hymns, his name thus being mentioned about 120 times. He is also glorified in the *Atharvaveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, and seems to have played a peculiar role in the Vedic ritual. The picture of Pūṣan derived from all these manifold literary and ritual references is indeed puzzlingly composite.

Even a casual glance at the statistical analysis of the RV references to Pūṣan¹ will suffice to bring out prominently a peculiar feature of the way in which this god has been celebrated in that Veda. Out of eight complete hymns glorifying Pūṣan, five occur in the sixth maṇḍala of the RV-saṁhitā, which represents the literary and religious enterprise of the clan of the Bhāradvājas. That portion of the sixth maṇḍala (hymns 53-58, hymn 48, 15-19) which is dedicated exclusively to the Pūṣan-worship is so conspicuous that HILLEBRANDT (*Vedische Mythologie*) chooses to call it a 'small Pūṣan-saṁhitā' in itself. This fact cannot be regarded as an accident. On the other hand it seems to indicate that the Pūṣan-religion was a special possession of the family of the Bhāradvājas. No discussion regarding the essential character of Pūṣan can be said to be complete and conclusive, unless the real significance of this important feature of the Pūṣan-religion in the RV is clearly explained. Equally significant is the fact that the Paṇis are most prominently mentioned in the sixth maṇḍala and that Pūṣan is the god who is specially invoked to put down those nasty mischief-mongers of the Vedic times. Another point that would strike a student of Vedic mythology is that Pūṣan is coupled rather predominantly only with two gods from among the Vedic pantheon, namely, Indra and Soma. A critical study of the passages referring to Indrā-pūṣaṇau (III. 52, 7 ; VI. 57) leads one to the conclusion that originally the Indra-religion and the Pūṣan-religion were two inde-

1. Pūṣan is mentioned 36 times in the sixth maṇḍala, while he is referred to 3 times in the second, 5 times in the third, 3 times in the fourth (at none of these places in vocative), 8 times in the fifth, 6 times in the seventh, 6 times in the eighth, and more often in the first and the tenth maṇḍalas.

pendent religious cults and that a special effort is made to bring them together. Similar appears to have been the case also with regard to the coupling together of Soma and Pūṣan. The traces of this artificial blending together of two distinct religious cults are too clear in the RV-saṁhitā to be missed. The anthropomorphic traits in the descriptions of Pūṣan are also noteworthy. Vedic references to Pūṣan's braided hair (VI. 55.2) and beard (X. 26.7), to his awl (VI. 53.6) and goad (VI. 53.9), to his special food, *karambha* (VI. 56.1), to his car being driven by goats instead of horses (I. 38.4 ; VI. 55.3)—all these help to present before us quite a distinct personality, that is to say a god belonging to a world more or less different from that of many vedic gods as we know them. But by far the greatest emphasis is laid by the Vedic poets on the prominent role played by Pūṣan in the pastoral life of the people. He increases the cattle (VI. 54.5-6, 10) and brings back the beasts that have strayed (VI. 54.7 ; 57.7). He eats the food which is common among the pastoral communities (VI. 56.1) and bears the goad (VI. 53.9) which is typical of a shepherd or a cowherd. He is the lord of paths and helps the nomadic tribes on their ways (X. 17.3). It is repeatedly said of him that he abounds in wealth (VIII. 4.15) and bestows great bounty (VI. 58.4) on his followers, particularly in the form of the increase of cattle. Apart from all this, as is quite common with Vedic mythology in general, Pūṣan also is endowed with features connected with brightness and splendour. He is brought into contact with several phenomena of light (VI. 48.17 ; VI. 56.3 ; VI. 58.1). The part which he is made to play in the Sūryā-myth (I. 117.13 ; VI. 55.5 ; X. 88.14) is indeed very peculiar. It may be mentioned in this context that his similarity, in various respects, with Scandinavian Thor,² and with Hermes and Pan, is emphasised by certain scholars. This brief statement would give the impression that Pūṣan was a god of intrinsically complex personality, characterised as it is by apparently inconsistent and unconnected traits.

So far oriental scholars have either emphasised only one single aspect of this god's personality by making him the sun-god or the god of paths, etc., thereby almost overlooking his other traits, which did not fit in with their respective theories ; or otherwise they have tried to strike a compromise by making him represent, from the very beginning, an inherently mixed conception such as that of the beneficent power of the sun manifested chiefly as a pastoral deity. As a matter of fact we have to approach such problems of Vedic mythology from the point of view of what may be called 'evolutionary or historical mythology.' It ought to be realised that the nature of Vedic gods had been changing with the vicissitudes of the Vedic life. And corresponding to the several stages in the course of this evolution, different traits

2. From the point of view of comparative mythology, Pūṣan seems to exhibit a good deal of similarity with the nordic god, Thor. It has been customary to identify Thor exclusively with the Vedic god, Indra. But there appears, in Thor's character, certain features which do not fit in well with the personality of Indra as represented in the Veda.

came to be attached to their essential personality. Their original nature was modified ; their relations among themselves were altered ; their worshippers also did not necessarily remain always the same. As the result of all this the final picture became complex and full of apparent inconsistencies.³ Keeping in mind this important phenomenon of the Vedic mythology let us attempt a fresh approach to the Pūṣan-problem. In other words we shall see if it is possible to present the whole evolution of the personality of Pūṣan in such a manner that all the apparently inconsistent and unconnected details of his nature referred to in the Vedic texts and indicated by Vedic religious practices are shown to be logically and historically connected and consistent. It has to be remembered that the Pūṣan-mythology had passed through all the stages of its development even before the Vedic saṁhitā was finally formulated. A critical analysis of the textual references and ritual indications, mentioned above, followed by a constructive synthesis will however help us to distinguish those stages markedly from each other.⁴

Let us begin by examining the earlier theories regarding Pūṣan's essential character. The most common view is to regard Pūṣan as a solar divinity. This has been the opinion of the Indian scholiasts themselves. Yāska, for instance, refers to him as one of the Ādityas and consequently makes him a solar deity (I. 115.1 ; X. 17.3).⁵ The same view has been developed by the *Bṛhaddevatā* (2.63), which describes Pūṣan as the sun-god who helped (from *puṣ*) the earth by dispelling the darkness by means of his rays. A majority of orientalists like GOLDSTÜCKER, HILLEBRANDT, LANGLOIS, LUDWIG, MACDONNELL, MAX MÜLLER, ROTH and WILSON, naturally followed the lead given by these early Indian exegetical texts. The solar theory is mainly based on certain epithets of Pūṣan, which are suggestive of light and splendour. As a matter of fact, however, out of the several epithets attributed to Pūṣan, only one, namely, *āghṛṇi* (VI. 48.16 ; VI. 53.3 ; VI. 55.1-3), may be said to be suggestive of the sun-god. Indeed BLOOMFIELD (*The Religion of the Veda*) claims for this god a clearly solar character on the strength of that very ancient epithet, *āghṛṇi* (glowing), being specifically used with reference to him. But it will be seen that this epithet is quite general in sense and may be made to indicate any resplendent divinity. For example it is used with reference to Agni also (VIII. 60.20). This single epithet cannot, therefore, be regarded as a decisive proof regarding Pūṣan's fundamental character.⁶ If

3. Vide my papers : "Asura Varuṇa" (*A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. 21) and "Viṣṇu in the Veda" (Kane Festschrift).

4. A similar attempt has been made by the present writer in the case of the Vedic god, Viṣṇu ("Viṣṇu in the Veda").

5. A mention may be made in this connection of what has already been said, in another paper ("Asura Varuṇa"), namely, that Ādityas had originally nothing to do with solar divinities. Their essential nature was quite different. The transition from the Ādityas to the solar deities is an imperceptible but at the same time a significant feature of Vedic mythology.

6. It may also be noted that there is considerable difference of opinion regarding the exact meaning of the word, *āghṛṇi*. It occurs 15 times in RV. Sāyaṇa

this epithet were really characteristic of Pūṣan, why should it have been dropped out in later literature? The very fact that it disappears completely in later times would suggest that it was only superficially attributed to Pūṣan. Further the bright aspect of Pūṣan's personality which is referred to in some stray cases (VI. 48.17 ; VI. 58.1) may be regarded as being indicative merely of the light-symbolism, which is commonly superimposed by Vedic poets on their gods. Brightness and splendour are considered to be the external manifestations of divine power. Pūṣan's part in the Sūryā-myth has also been put forth as essentially supporting the solar theory. But that whole myth is so puzzling that by itself it does not offer any substantial clue to solve the Pūṣan-problem. Moreover it is difficult to believe that the essential nature of a god could have been manifested, by the Vedic poets, in such an enigmatic and obscure manner. That whole myth points rather to Pūṣan's being included in it as an afterthought. PERRY (*Classical Studies in honour of Henry Drisler*) rightly suggests that this myth must be the result of the meeting of different streams of legend, in one of which Pūṣan, and in the other Sūryā plays the chief role. It is also possible to explain the unique and mysterious nature of genealogy and motif of incest distinctive of that myth on the assumption that certain elements of the original Pūṣan-cult were transplanted to this myth of light-phenomena.

Another piece of evidence produced by HILLEBRANDT and PERRY in support of the solar theory is the fact that Pūṣan is many times coupled with Soma both in Vedic hymns (II. 40) and in Vedic ritual. They argue that Soma represents the moon-god and so Pūṣan must necessarily represent the sun-god. The very starting point of this reasoning is unconvincing. The original nature of Soma was not lunar. It will be shown, in a later context, that this coupling together of Pūṣan and Soma is significant from quite a different point of view and forms an important stage in the evolution of the Pūṣan-religion. In II. 40, a reference is made to Pūṣan's dwelling in heaven as well as to his wandering between the heaven and earth (also X. 17.6). This is taken to indicate the sun's daily journey from and back to heaven. The fact that Pūṣan leads the dead from the earth to the other world (X. 17.3) is also interpreted as supporting the above assumption. According to BLOOMFIELD such references are typical of the familiar notion of the Vedic poets that the sun oversees everything. A critical examination of the Vedic passages cited above, however, shows that they are undoubtedly very casual references and do not at all point to the essential function of Pūṣan. The close association of Pūṣan with Agni (I. 122.5 ; II. 1.6 ; X. 17.3) also cannot be said to be suggestive of Pūṣan's solar nature.

The increase-giving faculty, which is prominent in Pūṣan's character, is again not exclusively solar. On the other hand, assuming that the word, Pūṣan, really means 'Prospero', it may reasonably be asked why the sun-god

explains it as *āgaladīptiyukta*. OLDENBERG doubts this. NEISSER, in his supplement to GRASSMANN's Vedic dictionary, interprets it as 'liberal' or 'generous'.

should, alone among others, be celebrated with that title. Parjanya and Maruts also are represented as conferring prosperity on mankind. Therefore Pūṣan's increase-giving faculty cannot by itself be a proof of his solar character. It should also be noted that the prosperity conferred by Pūṣan is obviously connected with cattle; this fact cannot be reasonably reconciled with that god's solar nature. The sun's power of increasing cattle is evidently not direct and natural.⁷ In one of the myths (VI. 56.3), Pūṣan is described as loading the sun's wheel on some hairy speckled animal. Elsewhere (VI. 55.2; VI. 56.2) he is called a charioteer par excellence. These references are said to be indicative of Pūṣan's solar aspect, particularly as a solar charioteer. But does that not mean that Pūṣan is here markedly distinguished from the sun-god? There are several other passages where this distinction between the sun and Pūṣan is clearly brought out. Pūṣan is called the messenger of the sun (VI. 58.3) and is elsewhere mentioned as different from the sun⁸ (VI. 48.17). Further it cannot be argued, on the strength of Pūṣan's association with Savitr (V. 81.5; X. 139.1) and of the fact that the epithet *agohya* is peculiar to Savitr and Pūṣan, that Pūṣan is an aspect of the sun-god, just as Savitr is.⁹ It has been shown elsewhere ("New Light on the Vedic god, Savitr", A. B. O. R. I. Vol. 20) that Savitr himself is essentially not a sun-god. Moreover the reference in the Savitr-hymn (V. 81.5), *uta pūṣā bhavasi deva yāmabhiḥ*, seems to suggest that Pūṣan is not fundamentally connected with solar splendour but with paths and highways.

The several Vedic passages referred to above cannot therefore be said to indicate the essential solar nature of Pūṣan. Many other objections may be raised against the solar theory. Certain special epithets like *ajāśva* and *karambhād*, which are exclusively attributed to Pūṣan, do not even distantly hint at his solar character. Further the anthropomorphic traits of Pūṣan, mentioned in RV (VI. 54.10; VI. 55.2; X. 26.7), though scanty, are sufficiently individualistic. The braided hair and beard are hardly suggestive of the sun-god.¹⁰ The peculiarities with regard to Pūṣan's food (VI. 56.1), weapon (VI. 53.5), car (VI. 54.3) and the animal driving it (I. 38.4),

7. KEITH (*Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upaniṣads*) compares Pūṣan with the Iranian Mithra, who influences the prosperity of cattle and brings lost animals home. Mithra is, according to that scholar, an almost undoubted sun-god; he consequently argues that Pūṣan also must be a sun-god. This argument is based upon a definitely questionable conception of Mithra's essential personality (vide: "Asura Varuṇa").

8. Some scholars assume, on the basis of Pūṣan's close association with the Aśvins, that he appeared in the sky, with the Aśvins, very early in the morning. According to them this fact goes against the solar theory.

9. HOPKINS (*The Religions of India*) even goes to the extent of saying that Pūṣan and Savitr are almost identical so far as their names and functions are concerned.

10. As the god *Kapardin* and *Paśupā*, Pūṣan is supposed, by certain scholars, to be offering the original of Rudra's characteristics.

as also his other mannerisms, are so life-like and realistic that they completely banish out of account any possibility of a naturalistic interpretation of his personality. It is also difficult to explain satisfactorily, on the basis of the solar theory, the peculiar relation that seems to have existed between the Pūṣan-religion and the clan of the Bhāradvājas. It may further be asked : if Pūṣan were originally the sun-god, what exactly is the significance of his being coupled with Indra and Soma only and that too by way of an after-thought ? What again is the special significance of the sun-god alone being invoked to punish the Paṇis ? In the hymn, VIII. 29, where the distinctive features of several Vedic gods are mentioned in the form of riddles, the solar aspect of Pūṣan is not even hinted at (VIII. 29.6). Taking into account the special characteristics of the Vedic Pūṣan one does not feel inclined to accept the conclusion arrived at by ATKINS (*Pūṣan in the Rigveda*), who has made a fresh study of the Pūṣan-problem, on the basis of all the available material on the subject, namely, that, when considered in the aggregate the Vedic references lead us to the assumption that Pūṣan was primarily a sun-god.¹¹ As a matter of fact the emphasis put by the Vedic poets on the traits of Pūṣan's personality other than those connected with light and splendour is so conspicuous that even the supporters of the solar theory tend towards modifying their theory in various ways. Pūṣan is made to represent the sun-god in different positions and capacities. But this, in itself, may be regarded as an indication of the inherently untenable character of that theory. Such variations of the solar theory no doubt exhibit considerable ingenuity on the part of their authors ; but on critical examination they are found to be quite unconvincing.

GRASSMANN (*Rig-Veda*), for instance, makes Pūṣan a god of prosperity and growth related to the sun. SCHRÖDER (*Arische Religion*) believes that Pūṣan was an original ancient sun-god bestowing bounty. While DE GUBERNATIS (*Lecture Sopra la Mitologia Vedica*) and GRILL (*Hundert Lieder des Atharva-Veda*) consider him to be specifically the setting or the evening sun, FLENSBURG (*Om Guden Pūṣan i Rigveda*) regards him as the sun nearest the earth, that is to say, the noon-sun.¹² PERRY and MACDONELL (*Vedic Mythology*) seem to emphasise the pastoral aspect of Pūṣan's character rather than

11. It may be mentioned, in this connection, that ATKINS regards Savitr, Viṣṇu and Mitra also to have been fundamentally solar divinities. The present writer does not accept this view. Vide his papers on Savitr, Varuṇa, and Viṣṇu.

12. ATKINS gives the general outlines of FLENSBURG's view. On the evidence of X. 139, 2, FLENSBURG considers Pūṣan to be the sun in his central position between the eastern and the western horizon. He produces further evidence (I. 42. 8 ; I. 138. 1 ; VI. 48. 16-17 ; VI. 56. 3) in support of his assumption that Pūṣan represents the sun when he is nearest to the earth. It may however be mentioned, in this connection, that even according to FLENSBURG, the solar aspect has been a later development in Pūṣan's personality. He believes that the figure of Pūṣan developed out of an apotheosised herdsman-ideal, to which became attached the general folk-conception of the sun as the herdsman of the universe. At the same time he asserts that this god's function is solar.

the solar one. According to HILLEBRANDT (*Vedische Mythologie*) also Pūṣan was primarily a sun-god with pastoral functions. HOPKINS asserts that Pūṣan is bucolic throughout, and yet a sun-god. But the bucolic feature of his personality is so prominent that HOPKINS is inclined to assume the existence of at least two Pūṣans in RV itself. All this tends to prove that the solar traits in Pūṣan's personality, whatever they are, are absolutely vague and inconclusive.¹³ The bright, glowing aspect of Pūṣan's nature is so ambiguous that some scholars have come forward with other explanations of it. SIECKE (*Pūṣan*) looks upon him as an original moon-god, later turned into a god of paths. GHOSE (*The Aryan trail in Iran and India*) denies that Pūṣan could be the sun-god. According to him Pūṣan is the presiding genius of light which thawed, warmed and discriminated everything, and also of moisture which sustained and nourished everything. GHOSH (*J. A. S. B.*, New Series 28, 1932) makes Pūṣan the constellation Auriga of the northern hemisphere.

It is said in support of the solar theory that Pūṣan was originally the sun-god, but when his nature as a god of paths or a pastoral god came to be prominently emphasised in later Vedic times, the solar aspect in his personality became indistinct and vague. This explanation, however, is not convincing. It may be pointed out that the sun's connexion with paths and pastoral life is not so very intrinsic that it should become the basis of the future prominent development of his personality. Why should the sun-god alone be brought into such an organic relation with pastoral religion? Many other Vedic gods seem to play an equally—if not more—important role in pastoral life. Moreover it may be asked: If this pastoral aspect is a later development of the basic solar character of Pūṣan, why has it ultimately disappeared? In later times we find that the traces of the bucolic aspect are quite indistinct. As a matter of fact those traits in Pūṣan's personality, which are supposed to have been the result of a later development, must be reasonably expected to be conspicuously preserved. That is however not the case.

It cannot be denied that Vedic poets have made an obvious attempt to endow Pūṣan's personality with some features connected with light and splendour. But the above discussion leads one to the following conclusions. Firstly there is no clear evidence to show that Pūṣan represents a phenomenon of nature.¹⁴ Secondly, Pūṣan cannot at all be said to have originally

13. A reference may be made, in this connection, to the view of HOPKINS who looks upon Pūṣan as the sun-god characterised by priestly, warlike and pastoral features and therefore revered by the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas alike.

14. BERGAINÉ (*La Religion Védique*) believes that Pūṣan's character is partly naturalistic and partly liturgical. The 'naturalism' in the Pūṣan-religion is explained by that scholar as follows: Pūṣan's goad represents the lightning; and the herds which he is said to be nourishing are heavenly waters. The brief statement of the Pūṣan-mythology made above, however, indicates that this could not have been the intention of the Vedic poets. In this context a passing reference may be made to the view of VODSKOV (*Sjæledyrkelse og Naturdyrkelse*) who makes Pūṣan a rain-god.

represented a solar divinity. In fact the light symbolism which is perceptible from the Vedic references to Pūṣan does not form an intrinsic and essential aspect of that god's nature. It is too flat, commonplace and colourless for that. Therefore one may be justified in concluding further that the phenomena of light with which Pūṣan is associated in the Veda were introduced by way of an afterthought and perhaps with some special purpose in view.

It has already been noticed that the traits in the Pūṣan-mythology connected with light and splendour are so ambiguous that they have given rise to doubts as to whether the bright aspect of Pūṣan's personality indicates his solar nature or the lunar or the stellar nature. SIECKE believes that Pūṣan was originally a moon-divinity who later assumed the functions of a god of paths. HERTEL (*Beiträge zur Erklärung des Awestas und des Vedas*) also seems to support this view. From the point of view of comparative mythology SIECKE assumes that the similarity of Pūṣan with Hermes is undoubted.¹⁵ Accordingly he regards both of them as moon-gods. As may be pointed out in a later context, there are indeed certain characteristics in Pūṣan's nature which appear to be unmistakably indicating his lunar aspect. It is also easily intelligible that the moon, and not so much the sun, should be brought into close contact with the lordship of paths. But to say that Pūṣan represents essentially and originally a moon-god is quite unconvincing.¹⁶ On that assumption it would be difficult to explain why a moon-god should be invested with the peculiar features which characterise the Pūṣan-mythology. As a matter of fact all that has been said above against the solar theory may with equal cogency apply to other theories seeking to make Pūṣan represent one or the other phenomenon of light.

GHOSH starts with the assumption that the physical nature of a large number of RV deities can be interpreted from the astronomical and meteorological points of view. On the basis of the obscure Sūryā-myth, he believes that Pūṣan appears in heaven at night towards morning with Aśvins, and goes away before sunrise. He consequently identifies Pūṣan with the constellation Auriga of the northern hemisphere. Apart from the highly questionable nature of the Sūryā-myth, it will be seen that GHOSH has altogether neglected other more prominent features of Pūṣan's character. The same may be said to have been the case with GHOSE, who makes Pūṣan a god of Light and Moisture—the two principles sustaining the universe. No attention seems to have been paid either to Pūṣan's anthropomorphic traits, or to his peculiar connection with paths and pastoral life in general. Even a casual study of the Pūṣan-saṁhitā in the sixth maṇḍala would suffice to show how untenable such

15. SCHROEDER objects to this identification. But he says that SIECKE's effort to identify Pūṣan with the moon-god deserves serious attention.

16. It seems that SIECKE has fallen a victim to a popular trend of mythological study which sees the moon prominently manifesting himself at the back of all being and doing of a god. Many important Vedic gods, including Varuṇa, Yama, and even Viṣṇu, were regarded as the aspects of the moon-god. It was claimed that the moon played the most predominant role in primitive mythology.

theories are on the very face of them! There were periods in the history of Vedic mythological studies when Vedic gods were exclusively made to represent either some natural phenomena—particularly connected with heaven and light—or some ritualistic conceptions. Naturalistic and ritualistic currents of thought were undoubtedly forced upon the original Vedic mythology in many cases. But a critical examination soon makes it clear that these never formed the intrinsic nature of the gods in question. A reference has already been made to BERGAIGNE'S view. That scholar even goes to the extent of ultimately identifying Pūṣan with Soma. Neither Vedic texts nor Vedic ritualistic practices seem to substantiate this view. It need hardly be added that many objections raised above against the solar theory are applicable with equal force even in this connection.

While dismissing the solar theory and the lunar theory¹⁷ as perfectly unsatisfactory, OLDENBERG (*Religion des Veda*) emphasises yet another single aspect of Pūṣan's character thereby neglecting the other ones. Pūṣan is seen to be active in several distinct capacities. But, according to OLDENBERG, the most characteristic function of this god is in connection with paths. He knows the paths and leads others safely on them (VI. 49.8). He guards men and cattle from going astray (VI. 54.5-7). Those who are lost he brings back intact (I. 23.13). Indeed he knows where and how to find the lost things (I. 23.14; VI. 48.15). OLDENBERG argues that the fundamental nature of a god's being is to be determined primarily on the basis of his most original and most essential function. Pūṣan is therefore a lord of paths, regarded as a distinct divinity by the Vedic poets and celebrated as such. According to OLDENBERG, Pūṣan is connected with agriculture only so far as he sees that the furrows of the plough are in the right direction (IV. 57.7). His connection with cattle is also restricted to his leading them on the right path. Pūṣan's *aṣṭrā* is called *paśusādhanī* (VI. 53.9). OLDENBERG understands that word in the sense of 'leading the *paśu* on the right path'.¹⁸ The later development of this essential function of Pūṣan is to be seen in his being regarded as leading the bride, in a proper manner, from the father's to the husband's house (X. 85.26). Pūṣan is also described as leading the dead to the other world (X. 17.3). Himself the lord of paths, Pūṣan is born on the way (X. 17.6). OLDENBERG interprets Pūṣan's epithet, *vimuco napāt*, in two senses; first as the 'lord of lodging' and secondly, as the 'deliverer par excellence'. Both these conceptions are, according to him, prominent in Pūṣan's nature as the lord of paths. Other features of the Pūṣan-mythology, such as

17. It is interesting to note that OLDENBERG is usually in favour of the theory that the moon played a very prominent part in primitive mythology. It may also be recalled that he identified Varuṇa with the moon on the strength of a comparative study of Vedic and Semitic mythologies. SIECKE too has referred to Semitic mythology in support of his theory that Pūṣan represents the moon-god. OLDENBERG finds SIECKE's method faulty.

18. OLDENBERG believes that the verb *sādh* is distinctive of Pūṣan (VI. 56. 4-5; X. 26. 4) and that it is appropriately connected with the god of paths since *sādh* is the standing epithet of path.

his being the messenger of the sun (VI. 58.3) and his finding out Soma as well as Agni, when they were lost (I. 23.14; X. 5.5), are also explained by OLDENBERG as supporting his theory. Further the connection of the lord of paths with the goat is quite natural, because the goat is certainly the most sure-footed animal. In some Vedic passages (I. 42; VI. 53.4) Pūṣan is represented as receiving offerings, in his capacity of the path-finder, every morning and evening. So far as comparative mythology is concerned, OLDENBERG is of the opinion that Pūṣan is identical with Hermes¹⁹ and regards both of them as basically lords of paths. That scholar even includes Pūṣan and Hermes, in this their original character, among such divinities as can be traced back to indogermanic antiquity.

So far as OLDENBERG asserts that Pūṣan cannot be the personification of any nature-phenomenon, it is easy to accept his view. But his theory that Pūṣan's nature as a path-finder or a lord of paths is the basic conception underlying that god's personality cannot possibly be accepted without challenge. The very conception of a god of paths is so general that it is indeed difficult to imagine that such a god could have ever been invested with distinct anthropomorphic traits. Pūṣan is represented in the Veda with a distinct individuality. Why should a god of ways have been specifically a *karam-bhād*? The *aṣṭrā* and *ārā* (VI. 53.5-9) are again not particularly pertinent in OLDENBERG's theory. OLDENBERG seems to set aside completely the conspicuous bucolic nature of Pūṣan's personality and puts an over-emphasis only on one of its features. A god of paths cannot be regarded to be intrinsically connected with the prosperity of cattle.²⁰ It may further be asked: Had Pūṣan been originally a lord of paths is it not natural to expect that his seat should have been on the earth rather than in heaven? The Pūṣan-religion on the whole gives the impression that it was a special religious cult belonging to a particular Vedic tribe. The attempts at associating that religion artificially with the Indra-religion and the Soma-ritual, which are evident in the Veda, also seem to support this impression. Can one believe that a god of paths was made the central figure in an independent religious cult? The name, Pūṣan, also cannot be regarded a proper name for a lord of paths. As HILLEBRANDT has pointed out, it is not proper to determine the nature of a god only from one or another characteristic feature of his. It will be clear from the above discussion that OLDENBERG has done so. As a matter of fact it is not necessary to make Pūṣan an independent god of paths. This feature represents only a part of the essential function of Pūṣan and may not therefore be distinguished from it.

The common factor in the majority of theories regarding Pūṣan's original nature referred to above may as well be taken to be a reasonable starting point of a correct approach to this problem. In the several attempts

19. It may be pointed out here that this identification is based on a superficial similarity between the two gods.

20. OLDENBERG's interpretation of the epithet, *paśusādhani*, will be later shown to be unsatisfactory.

to modify their original theories, scholars seem to agree in making a pointed reference to the emphatically bucolic traits, which characterise that god. The sustained impression produced by the Vedic passages referring to Pūṣan in general and by the Pūṣan-saṁhitā in the sixth maṇḍala in particular is that Pūṣan was primarily and essentially a pastoral god. He supervises the cattle and is responsible for the preservation and increase of herds and flocks (VI. 54. 5-7). He is often referred to as a cattle-giving god (VI. 56.5). It is indeed noteworthy that Pūṣan is concerned only with the prosperity of sheep and cattle. The pastoral communities are represented in the Veda to have been nomadic. Naturally they often emphasised one aspect of their special god, Pūṣan, namely, his lordship over the paths. He leads his followers safely from one pasture to another. He is celebrated as the knower of treasures (VIII. 29.6), indicating thereby that he knows the right place where his pastoral followers should be taken. In other words he secures for them rich pasture lands. But at the same time he is conscious of his other responsibility to his followers; on the way he guards them. In another passage (VI. 56.5), Pūṣan is invoked to direct 'this cattle-desiring band of ours' to the attainment of its desired objects.²¹ Many were the occasions when the cattle went astray and was lost. Under such circumstances the pastoral worshippers often appealed to their god who readily recovered the lost property (VI. 54. 1, 2, 4, 10). He is predominantly invoked as *anaṣṭapaśu* (V. 17.3), *anaṣṭavedas* (VI. 54.8) and *paśupā* (VI. 58.2). Among the pastoral tribes there is a special class of people who distinguish themselves in the art of path-finding and tracing the lost sheep and cattle.²² It is this characteristic of an actually existing class among the shepherds and cowherds that is idealised in Pūṣan by his worshippers (VI. 54.1). It is a very common feature of any mythology that the characteristics of a god are often determined by the way of living of that god's worshippers. The god of the warlike tribes is often represented as a warrior god. The anthropomorphic traits of a god in particular may be regarded as very suggestive in this connection. It is easy to imagine that the pastoral tribes made their god look impressive with braided hair (VI. 55.2)²³ and graceful beard. The weapons that he wields are those which are usually employed by his pastoral worshippers, the only difference being that the goad (VI. 53.9) and the awl (VI. 53.5) of Pūṣan have some divine power. The *aṣṭrā* of Pūṣan is *paśusādhanī*, that is to say, it helps to acquire, preserve and increase the cattle; and the *ārā* comes in handy when he wants to punish vitally the nasty mischief-mongers,

21. The logical and natural extension of this invocation was that Pūṣan should allot to his worshippers their share of maidens (IX. 67. 10).

22. HILLEBRANDT refers to the Khojis of the Punjab and the Paggi of Gujerat, who are known even to-day for this special faculty which they are said to possess.

23. The word *kapardin* is also interpreted in the sense of 'one who wears strings of cowry-shells'. The Vedic references do not however seem to support this meaning. BANERJEE-SHASTRI suggests (*J. B. O. R. S.* XVIII) that *kaparda* was a kind of head-gear.

Paṇis, who harassed the pastoral communities in the course of their forward march to 'pastures new' (VI. 53.5). The significance of Pūṣan's peculiar connection with the goat (I. 115. 4-5 ; VI. 55.6, 57.3 ; X. 26.8) will be easily realised when we take into consideration the fact that goat is the most sure-footed animal and can traverse the most difficult paths. Another very remarkable example of how the distinctive features of a people are transferred to their god is to be found in the Vedic reference where Pūṣan is said to be 'weaving the raiment of sheep, and also making their raiment clean'

vāsoṽyovīnām ā vāsāṁsi marmṛjat (X. 26.6).

This passage can hardly be considered proper unless we assume that Pūṣan was essentially a god of shepherds. Further it is interesting to note that the god of the shepherds and cowherds eats the simple food, which they themselves must be eating, namely, *karambha* (VI. 56.1). Particularly striking is the fact that these pastoral worshippers were not ashamed of their god being a *karambhād*. On the other hand they put forth a challenge that those 'who aim at Pūṣan malignantly saying that he is merely a *karambhād* can never strike at him successfully.'

*Ya enam ādideśati karambhād iti pūṣaṇam
na tena deva ādiśe*

(VI. 56.1).

Such evil efforts were bound to fail, because the title, *karambhād*, could never hurt the god of the pastoral communities. So far as Pūṣan's own worshippers were concerned, *karambhād* was not a scornful epithet.²⁴ This god of the cattle-breeding worshippers is praised in a manner quite befitting their general culture. No high-sounding phrases are used by the poets with reference to Pūṣan. An appeal to him for his friendship (VI. 48.18) almost creates the actual pastoral atmosphere. It is therefore safe to conclude that Pūṣan was already in the Veda a full-fledged pastoral divinity. As a matter of fact he represents a divine prototype of a cattle-breeding people. His pastoral worshippers have invested Pūṣan's personality with a shepherd's appearance, a shepherd's food, and similar other conspicuously bucolic traits. One may go even to the extent of asserting that it is impossible to indicate an essentially bucolic personality in a clearer manner than what we see in the case of Pūṣan.

An etymological study of the name Pūṣan would also seem to amply support the basic pastoral character of this god. The word Pūṣan is usually derived from the root, *puṣ*—to increase, nourish, bestow bounty. This is however not satisfactory. With that etymology it is not possible to explain why there should have been a long *pū* in Pūṣan. Therefore, PISCHEL (*Vedische Studien*) seems to be right in rejecting it. An attempt is made by him and BERGAIGNE to derive Pūṣan from the root, *pū*—to purify. HERTEL con-

24. A reference may be made in this connection to the controversy between EDGERTON and FAY (*J. A. O. S.*, 1920) with regard to the interpretation of VI. 56.1. I accept Edgerton's view.

nects the word with *pū*—to glow. These explanations also do not seem convincing. SCHULZE (*Pan and Pūṣan*) tried to connect the name Pūṣan philologically with 'Pan' or Arcadian 'Paon'. OLDENBERG has rightly doubted this possibility. CHARPENTIER (*Studies in honour of C. E. Pavry*) correctly traces the word Pūṣan back to **pṣū-san*, and further to **pśū-san*, that is to say *paśu-san*. The name thus indicates that god's essential character as the 'acquirer of cattle'. The reference that Pūṣan's *aṣṭrā* is *paśusādhanī* fully supports this view. Pūṣan seems to correspond, according to CHARPENTIER, with the Avestic *fšū-šan*. Thus the etymology of the name also leads one to the conclusion that Pūṣan was originally a pastoral god par excellence.²⁵

Other characteristic features of the Pūṣan-mythology fit in well with this conception of that god's essential personality and primary functions. From the Vedic references it clearly appears that the clan of the Bhāradvājas was most devoted to the Pūṣan-cult. The Bhāradvājas must have been one of the ancient Vedic tribes whose main occupation was cattle-breeding. And Pūṣan was the patron-god of these nomadic shepherds and cowherds. The living Pūṣan-cult can very well be realised only from the Pūṣan-saṁhitā of the Bhāradvājas. The fact that Paṇis too are most conspicuously mentioned in the sixth maṇḍala tends to support the above assumption regarding the Bhāradvājas. It is almost certain that the word Paṇi does not have a merely appellative sense, as GÜNTERT (*Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland*) seems to believe. The Paṇis represent a distinct community possessing a religious cult different from the official Vedic religion. They always wandered with the Vedic cattle-breeding tribes and often used to harass them. References to their riches and thefts are quite common in the Veda. The Paṇis were notorious cattle-lifters and therefore particularly antagonistic to the clan of the Bhāradvājas. Thus there was, in the early Vedic times, a continuous conflict going on between the Bhāradvājas and the Paṇis; and the former often invoked their patron-god, Pūṣan, to punish these mischievous cattle-lifters.²⁶ Naturally, for the Bhāradvājas, Pūṣan was more important than any other god

25. OLDENBERG suggests the possibility that originally this pastoral god, Pūṣan, may have been celebrated in a goat-form. The beast specially connected with a particular god is, in many cases, the remnant in the process of anthropomorphisation of the original beast-form of that god. The Arcadians indeed have a goat-footed pastoral god. On the basis of a similar possibility in the case of Pūṣan, DUMONT (*J. A. O. S.*, 53) connects that god with another Vedic god, whose name indicates the goat-form, namely, Aja Ekapāda. Pūṣan's beard and locks of hair are also considered to be suggestive of the goat-form. However so far as the Vedic references are concerned, we cannot find any clear traces of the goat-form of Pūṣan. In Vedic mythology Pūṣan is represented as a full-fledged anthropomorphic pastoral divinity.

26. From the references to the conflict between the Paṇis and the Bhāradvājas, HILLEBRANDT attempts to determine the geographical locality of the same. His conclusion is that the sixth maṇḍala generally refers to western countries and not to India proper. In support of this view he brings forth the evidence of Pūṣan's special connection with Sarasvatī, that is to say, with the river Arachotus.

from among the Vedic pantheon. The ten *gāyatrī* stanzas of VI. 53 seem to form some sort of magic formulae, belonging to the Pūṣan-cult, which were directed against the Paṇis, perhaps accompanied by some magic practices. It may therefore be concluded that the pastoral clan of the Bhāradvājas developed the essential personality of Pūṣan in a distinct manner. A statistical consideration of the Vedic references to that god seems to indicate further that the Pūṣan-cult was later adopted first by the Kāṇvas and then by other clans. In other words, the pastoral elements in other tribes also began to celebrate the pastoral god, Pūṣan.²⁷

Pūṣan's essentially pastoral personality may therefore be regarded as the first stage in the evolution of the Pūṣan-mythology. It is a common characteristic of the Vedic mythology in general that all gods are at some stage connected with heaven and light. This light-symbolism is superimposed upon the original nature of the Vedic gods and is therefore often easily distinguishable from it. It gives an unmistakable impression of artificiality and superficiality. This current of thought is clearly perceptible even in the case of an essentially pastoral god like Pūṣan. It has already been indicated that light-symbolism in Pūṣan's nature is distinctly colourless and superficial. It is also so vague and ambiguous that it is not easy to determine whether, in this second stage, Pūṣan was regarded as a sun-god or a moon-god. A critical examination of such Vedic passages, as are suggestive of light and splendour, however leads one to believe that Pūṣan was regarded as a moon-god rather than a sun-god. It should, first of all, be remembered that Pūṣan is often clearly distinguished from the sun (VI. 56.3). Then there is a passage (VI. 58.3) where Pūṣan is described as the messenger of the sun, plying his golden ship in the ocean of the air. Is this not clearly indicative of the moon? Further one of the aspects of Pūṣan's original character, namely as a path-finder, can, in the light-symbolism, be best transferred to the moon and not to the sun. When darkness and difficulties obstruct the way, the moon appears as the real path-finder. Pūṣan, in his original character, is regarded as a divine shepherd. In the mythology of heaven and light, it is common to look upon the moon as the shepherd of the herds of stars. This fact will make it clear how very natural the transition from Pūṣan to the moon-god must have been. Is it again not possible to suppose that the horns of the goat, the special animal of Pūṣan, gave rise to the imagery of the horns of the crescent moon? Further it is the moon-god who is usually regarded as the divine symbol of 'growth', which is Pūṣan's special gift.

One of the outstanding features of the Pūṣan-mythology is the peculiar part played by that god in the obscure Sūryā-myth. A critical analysis of that myth brings forth the following facts more or less prominently. The

27. GÜNTERT (*Der arische Weltkönig*) brings the evidence of certain nordic rock-paintings to bear upon the problem of an indogermanic pastoral god. He particularly refers to the paintings found in middle and south Scandinavia. In his book, he reproduces a sketch of a god, in goat-form, with hammers.

basic conception underlying the myth is the representation of a typical heavenly marriage. Sūryā, the sun-maiden, is the bride and three different gods, namely, Aśvins, Soma and Pūṣan, are represented to be her wooers. While Aśvins are referred to, in some context, as the husbands of Sūryā (IV. 43.6), Soma also is, in another context, said to have been the real bridegroom (X. 85.9).²⁸ PISCHEL explains this apparent contradiction by saying that Soma was Sūryā's first husband, and that, in her second marriage, which was a *svayamvara*, she chose the Aśvins as her husbands. We are concerned here only with Pūṣan's role in this myth. Pūṣan's role as wooer of Sūryā has a two-fold significance—mythological and sociological. From the point of view of the evolution of the Pūṣan-mythology, we may assume that, in order to stabilize the light-symbolism superimposed upon the original character of Pūṣan, Vedic poets thought of introducing that god in the Sūryā-myth which must have then become very popular. If we assume further that they regarded Pūṣan, in this second stage in the evolution of his personality, as the moon-god, it is easy to imagine how he is made to play, in the Sūryā-myth, a part similar to that of Soma, who too had come, by that time, to be regarded as the moon-god. Apart from this mythological significance, Pūṣan's introduction in the Sūryā-myth may have had distinct sociological significance also. By the side of the resplendent Sūryā, the pastoral gruel-eater Pūṣan certainly lends a peculiar touch to the whole myth. Is it not likely that on the strength of the precedent of this heavenly match between Sūryā and Pūṣan—two divinities belonging originally to distinct mythological strata—the pastoral worshippers of Pūṣan desired to assert their own claims to matrimonial relations with tribes who had already passed beyond the pastoral stage? The invocation that Pūṣan should allot to his worshippers their share of maidens (IX. 67.10) would seem to support such conjecture. Pūṣan's part in the Sūryā-myth may then be regarded as the result of an impact of two Vedic tribes having different social cultures. It must be observed, in this connection, that myth-building is not always based on clear-cut issues. But there cannot be much doubt that the Sūryā-myth had the sociological significance referred to above. It is further not improbable that the adjustments, which the Vedic poets found it necessary to make after having once introduced Pūṣan in the myth of Sūryā, Aśvins and Soma, reflect the manners and social customs of the pastoral worshippers of Pūṣan.²⁹ The epithets of Pūṣan, such as *mātur didhiṣu*, 'suitor of the mother', and *svasur jārah*, 'lover of the sister' (VI. 56.4-5), which indicate the motif of incest, may be supposed to be the outcome of the practice of the *Khvêtūk-das* marriages, that is to say, marriages among near relatives, which were current among

28. A myth similar to this is found in Lettish mythology, according to which the lovers of the sun-maiden are 'God's sons', while, in many cases, the moon-god also appears as their triumphant rival.

29. Such adjustments were necessary in view of the fact that Sūryā, the bride, was the sun-maiden, and Pūṣan, the suitor, was moon-god, who is often regarded as the son of the sun-god.

some ancient Aryan tribes. Such marriages must have formed a peculiar feature of the pastoral society.³⁰

The light-aspect of Pūṣan's personality is however very superficial and gives the impression of its having been introduced as an afterthought. It is also considerably hazy. But as pointed out so far, in this stage Pūṣan seems to have been regarded, by the Vedic poets, as the moon-god. In this context a reference may be made to a peculiar phenomenon of indogermanic mythology. The transition from the moon-cult to the sun-cult has always been a characteristic feature of mythology. Many imageries connected with the sun-mythology, such as the sun-boat, sun-shovel, sun-egg, etc., can be traced back clearly to the special features of the moon.³¹ The two cults were consequently brought quite close to each other and the transition from one to the other was almost imperceptible. When, therefore, the light-symbolism was not particularly distinct and clear-cut, it was quite possible to mistake one god for another. Such was actually the case as regards the evolution of the Pūṣan-mythology, which fact naturally facilitated such transition. In the Veda itself there is no clear indication that Pūṣan was regarded as a sun-god. But if in later times Pūṣan had come to be looked upon as a solar divinity, it must be due to the usually imperceptible transition from the moon-cult to the sun-cult.

As the result of another outstanding characteristic of the Vedic mythology, some more distinct features were added to the original Pūṣan-religion. It has already been observed that, in the Veda, Pūṣan is coupled rather conspicuously with Indra (VI. 57) and Soma (II. 40). This fact has a special significance. The original Pūṣan-religion of the nomads like the Bhāradvājas was fundamentally different from the religion of Indra-worshippers, which was the most popular and more or less the 'official' religion of the Vedic saṁhitā. Indeed there are indications in the Veda that the pastoral god, Pūṣan, evoked mockery at the hands of certain other people—perhaps priests and warriors—who worshipped gods of a different order (I. 42.10 ; I. 138.4 ; VI. 56.1).³² In order that gods of different Vedic tribes should combine in one great pantheon, the usual method adopted by the Vedic poets was to bring all such gods in contact with Indra, who represented, so to say, the 'official' religion of the Vedic saṁhitā. Pūṣan's association with Indra, which is, on the very face of it, superficial and artificial, serves the same purpose. Originally there existed a marked contrast between Indra and Pūṣan, so far as their food (VI. 57.2), and vehicles (VI.57.3) were concerned. But then Pūṣan came to be regarded as Indra's comrade and help-mate (VI, 56.2 ;

30. About *Khvêtūk-das* marriage, refer to GHOSE (*The Aryan Trail in Iran and India*), WEST (S. B. E. XVIII), KARVE (A. B. O. R. I. 20).

31. SCHRÖDER has dealt with this question at length in *Arische Religion*, Vol. 2.

32. It is assumed by some scholars that the pastoral tribes, whose patron-god was Pūṣan, came to India with their herds a little later than the early warlike tribes who fought their way to the Indian plains.

VI. 57.4). Not only that, but Pūṣan and Indra came to be ultimately looked upon as brothers (VI. 55.5). It will thus be seen that a position of honour in the Vedic pantheon was bestowed in this manner upon Pūṣan, the original pastoral god. All this however is obviously late and artificial. A similar purpose is served by Pūṣan's association with Soma (II. 40). Hereby Pūṣan's place in the Vedic ritual was made secure. Pūṣan did not originally have any share in the Soma-offering (VI. 57.2). Later Pūṣan-cult was loosely connected with Soma. Pūṣan was then offered only half a sacrifice (VI. 50.5); and ultimately he claimed his full legitimate share in the Soma-offering (X. 26.5). A reference may be made here to the peculiar complex on the part of the worshippers of Pūṣan, who, while claiming a Soma-offering for their god, also made Indra participate in Pūṣan's natural food, *karambha* (II. 52.7). This is obviously intended to assert the dignity of the original Pūṣan-religion. Ritual offerings are also said to have been made to both Soma and Pūṣan. The Pūṣan-cult is thus clearly one of the many appendages which have overgrown in the Soma-ritual. Naturally Pūṣan was also given several attributes in common with other gods in the Vedic pantheon. He is called *asura* (V. 51.11), and a ruler of heroes (I. 106.4). He becomes an unconquerable protector and defender (I. 89.5). He is said to transcend mortals and is equal to the gods in glory (VI. 48.10).

There are thus primarily three kinds of impact, that are perceptible in the Pūṣan-mythology. The original pastoral religion of Pūṣan suggests that there was a tribal impact of an antagonistic character between the Bhāradvājas and the Paṇis. An impact more or less of a social character is indicated by the Sūryā-myth. And finally there was a religious impact which resulted in giving Pūṣan a place of honour in the Vedic religion and ritual. It is also not unlikely that some such adjustment gave rise to a peculiar feature of the Pūṣan-cult. That god was originally a pastoral divinity; but later on he seems to have been connected with agriculture also (IV. 57.7).³³

The later development of the Pūṣan-cult will be found to betray unmistakably certain traits of that god's original character. The fact that Pūṣan is supposed to lead the bride to the bride-groom's house (X. 85.26; *Āśvalāyana* G. S. I. 8.1; *Pāraskara* G. S. I. 4.16) and also to lead the dead to the other world (X. 17.3) is the result of that god's natural lordship over the paths and of his nature as a path-finder. The memory of Pūṣan's special faculty to find lost things has survived in a later myth that Pūṣan found the lost Soma (I. 23.13-14) and Agni (X. 5.5). In the *Āśvalāyana* G. S. (III. 7.9) a sacrifice to Pūṣan is recommended for getting the lost things restored. In the *āsvamedha* sacrifice, a goat is offered as Pūṣan's portion, in order to announce the sacrifice to the gods (I. 162.2-4; *T. S. V.* 6.12). This fact

33. In *Mānavagṛhyasūtra* II. 10. 7, Pūṣan is included among the divinities, who are celebrated at the *āyojana*—the ceremony of collecting together implements for agriculture. Pūṣan's part in the *vr̥ṣotsarga* rite may be supposed to indicate that he was also regarded as a god of fertility.

indicates, beyond doubt, the original pastoral character of Pūṣan. The description in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (I. 7.4.7) that Pūṣan is a toothless god is certainly based on that pastoral god's natural fondness for *karambha*. It is an attempt at rationalising that apparently curious feature of Pūṣan, the proper significance of which was perhaps not realised then. The same idea was developed in the later epic literature where we are told that god Rudra destroyed the teeth of Pūṣan (*MBH. Sauptika*).³⁴

34. A reference may be made in passing to the fact that in *Īśāvāsyaopaniṣad* (st. 15-16), Pūṣan is, curiously enough, made almost identical with Īśa.

OBITUARY

Mm. DR. N. V. SVAMINATHA AYYAR

1855—1942

The village of Uttamadāna near Kumbhakonam took its name after some 'great gift' made by somebody in the past, but it has justified its name in the present by giving to the world of Tamil letters the 'great gift' of Mm. SVAMINATHA AYYAR. Mr. SVAMINATHA AYYAR was born at this village on 25th May, 1855 of a father proficient in music and Tamil, and though young SWAMINATHAN showed taste for music, the father put him to Tamil. Fortunately, the Tamil teacher, SATHAGOPA ACHARYA of Ariyalur, to whom SWAMINATHAN was entrusted, was a good musician. Later, the pupil sought Mr. VIDVAN MINAKSHISUNDARAM PILAI of Mayavaram and with him, became associated with the Tiruvavaduturai Mutt. At Mayavaram, young SWAMINATHAN came into contact with the great composer of the Nandan Charira, GOPALAKRISHNABHARATI, but his Tamil teacher asked him to confine himself to Tamil. However, SVAMINATHA AYYAR retained some amount of knowledge, taste and capacity in music. Music is an undoubted qualification for a teacher and expounder of Tamil or Sanskrit poetry. Mr. SVAMINATHA AYYAR has made a befitting commemoration of his indebtedness to Mahavidvan MINAKSHISUNDARAM PILLAI by writing a biography of that great scholar.

In 1880, when he was only 25, SVAMINATHA AYYAR became the Tamil Pandit in the Government College, Kumbhakonam. In 1903, he became the Tamil Pandit of the Presidency College, Madras, from which place he retired in 1919. For three years then from 1924 to 1927, Mr. AYYAR was Principal of the Oriental Training College at Chidambaram.

Mr. SWAMINATHA AYYAR has no doubt been a great teacher ; his reading of verses in a sweet tone and his gifted exposition, sparkling with wit, have all left an indelible impression on his students. But it was as a pioneer of Tamil Research studies and publications that Mr. SWAMINATHA AYYAR became greater. Some time after he came to the Kumbakonam College, Mr. SALEM RAMSWAMI MUDALIAR, the local Dt. Munsiff, gave Mr. AYYAR a manuscript of the Tamil Kāvya, *Jivaka Cintāmaṇi*, and with its examination and edition in 1887, began in right earnest the invaluable research labours of Mr. AYYAR in the direction of the unearthing of Saṅgam Works and their publication. In 1889, he published the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, with commentary ; in 1892, the *Silappadikāram* ; in 1894, *Puranānūru* ; in 1898, the *Maṇimekhalai* ; *Aiṅkuruhu* in 1903, *Paṇṇirupattu* in 1905, *Paripāḍaḥ* in 1918 ; *Peruṅkathai* in 1924 ; *Takkayāgapparaṇi* in 1930. These are the major works edited by him ; there are numerous minor works which he has also published, *Tūdus*, (*Dūtakāvya*s) *Ulās*, *Mānmiyaṃs* (*Māhātmya*s) etc. But for the discovery and publication of these major works of old, Tamil Studies to-day would be confined to later literature only ; and only those who have any acquaintance

with manuscripts of old literature can adequately measure the troubles of an editor, and that a pioneer, of such literature. Mr. AYYAR has got a good collection of valuable, Tamil mss with him, and of the Tamil *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kambar especially, he has numerous mss, an edition based on which has been announced and is being eagerly awaited by all. Many other works and critical accounts of Tamil life and literature are believed to have been on his anvil. Before the Universities began their work, the Mahāmahopādhyāya began his work of editing classics from mss ; with the willing service of his pupils, he was able to publish a mass of work which will involve the labours of an institution ; and all this, he turned out, undaunted by criticism, not a small part of which was prompted by jealousy and the impact of the communal politics of the presidency on cultural work.

Mr. AYYAR has been connected with the South Indian University bodies also in which he helped to shape the courses of studies in Tamil ; in 1927, he was invited by the Madras University to deliver a course of ten lectures on the Tamil of Śaṅgam and the later Ages. Mr. AYYAR's scholarly activities brought him into touch with several renowned persons in India and abroad. Poet TAGORE visited his house. The Madras Government gave him a grant-in-aid of Rs. 1,000 in 1905, and in 1906 the Government decorated him with the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya. Other titles have also been conferred on him and in 1932 the Madras University honoured him with the honorary D.Litt. degree. In 1925, the Madura Tamil Sangam presented him a purse of Rs. 5,000. In 1935, his eightieth birthday was celebrated like a great festival in Madras and at other places.

The new Tamil activity that has been born in the form of journals has greatly benefited by the kind co-operation of Mm. Dr. SWAMINATHA AYYAR. Ever since the inception of the Kalaimahal, the Mahamahopadhyaya has been enriching its pages with narratives of anecdotes and character-sketches, written in simple prose. The latest of his is his own Autobiography in the *Ananda Vīkatan* which is being read every week all over Tamil Nad. A man of strong memory and regular diary-habits, wide travel and contacts and a gifted narrator of anecdotes, he has pictured to the readers of the new generation glimpses of the old life, in villages, families, gurukulas, temples and mutts and the young government of those days.

There is a Tamil renaissance now and if anybody without making more noise, has laboured so truly to lay its substantial foundations, it is Mm. Dr. N. V. SWAMINATHA AYYAR.

V. RAGHAVAN

MISCELLANY

SOME EVIDENCES FOR THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIAN DRAMA

The origin and beginning of Indian Drama are still shrouded in dubious darkness. And any piece of evidence, however meagre, which may afford a clue to the early history of the Drama is sure to be welcome to students and lovers of Indian culture. In a very learned and pain-staking article recently contributed by Mr. WIJESEKERA, he has assembled the Buddhist evidence which establish the antiquity of the Indian Drama (*IHQ*, June 1941, pp. 196-206). The learned writer of the article has very ably discussed the history, etymology, and the connotation of the word 'Sobhanaka', and has established its valuable significance to the origin and history of Indian Dramatic Art, and, its antiquity, so strenuously denied by KEITH. An additional variant of the word—is 'Saubhika' (Prākṛta form : *Sobhaya*)—which occurs in Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the Mahābhārata (XII, 295, 5), and which has been interpreted to mean a class of itinerant "Picture showmen" who used to make their living by showing Rolls of Pictures depicting scenes of didactic intent, accompanying their displays (Skt. 'prekṣā', Pāli 'Pekkhā' = 'theatrical representation') by verbal descriptions and commentaries, making the events and anecdotes described by them to live before the eyes of the audience with vivid realism. They appear to be the same class of showmen as is referred to in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (V. 74) as *rūpapaṭṭin* ('living by showing pictures') and, in the *Therīgāthā* (394) as *rūparuppaka*. Patañjali's commentary on the use of the present tense in describing past events, obviously illustrates the then current practices of this class of showmen; of describing with the help of pictures the ancient story of the Assault on Kāṁśa, and the killing of Vali, etc., and of making these events live graphically in the eyes of the assembled crowd before them. All scholars who have studied this topic (LÜDERS, HILLEBRANDT, COOMARASWAMY) except KEITH, have interpreted this passage in Patañjali as referring to this class of showmen and, that, this practice must have been the precursor of the true drama. The Shadow-play (*Chāyā-nāṭaka*), still surviving in Malabar and in Java, is a practical proof of how the Drama developed from this type of visual representation of stories practised by the Saubhānikas or Sobhanikas. KEITH perversely refuses to see in the passage in Patañjali—any reference to this class of showmen, and denies with equal perversity, that the drama is derived from the Shadow-play and insists "that the shadow-play is later than and based upon the true drama."¹ But the early origin and the remote antiquity of the Indian Drama does not rest on the sole evidence of this much discussed passage of Patañjali. The class of Picture Showmen who made a living by showing and expounding pictures of ancient stories and legends are also referred to under the term *mañkha* in old Jaina Literature. In the *Uvāsaga-dasāo* (the seventh *aṅga* of the Jinas), datable about the end of fourth, or the beginning of the third century before the Christian era, —the doctrine of Gośāla Mañkha-putta is referred to (Lecture VI. & 166). Gośāla is so called, because, like Christ, he was born in a cowshed. His father is said to have been a *mañkha* (which the Sanskrit commentary explains as *Citra-phalaka-vyagra-vikṣu viśeṣaḥ*) i.e. a kind of mendicant that tries to extract alms by showing them pictures of deities, which he carries about with him. For

1. 'The Gaubhikas and the India Drama' (*BSOS*, I, 27-32), in which KEITH claims to refute the position of LÜDERS who accepts the shadow-play, and the 'Picture show' as evidence of the antiquity of the Indian Drama (*SBAW* 1916, pp. 698-737).

the word *mañkha*, we can compare the expression *Lañkha-mañkha-vidūṣakān* in the 'Sāli-bhadra-carita' (VI, 50) where *mañkha* is glossed as '*mañkhaḥ citra-phalaka-kastān*' (BLOOMFIELD, 'Sālibhadra-Carita', JAOS, Vol. 43, p. 305) i.e. those carrying boards or rolls of pictures in their hands. The history of the Picture-showman Gośāla is also referred to in the *Bhagavati Sutra* (15th section) (HOERNLE's translation, Appendix pp. 1-2). So that, if we concede the doubting view of KEITH, as to the reference of Picture-showmen in Patañjali, we have in very old Jain Literature, cited above, indisputable references to a class of showmen who used to make a living by giving graphic and dramatic narrations of didactic stories (*ākhyānas*) to the populace.

Yet, after all, this practice of itinerant Picture Showmen was the precursor of the dramatic form, rather than the true Drama itself. Fortunately, one ancient Buddhist legend offers very surprising evidence of the actual existence of Drama Proper. In the Tibetan *Kah-gyur* (SCHIEFNER *Tibetan Tales*, No. XIII, translated by Ralston, p. 243) there is a story of an actor, who went first to Naga Nanda (? probably Ananda) a faithful worshipper of the Buddha (in whose lifetime the events are supposed to have taken place) to obtain from him the necessary details of the Life of the Buddha in order to weave them into a drama for popular edification: "One day there came an actor from the South, with the intention of discovering something whereby he might amuse the company and obtain a large reward for himself. He hoped to obtain both ends, if he glorified the most excellent of men. So he took himself to Nanda and asked for the particulars. Nanda said: "what do you want it for?" The actor replied "Venerable, Sir, I wish to compose a drama." Nanda said: "Wretched man, do you wish me to portray the Teacher for you? Begone, for I will tell you nothing". The actor, however, gathered the necessary data for his drama from a learned nun and composed his drama. "He pitched a booth in Rājgrha on the day when the festival of the Nāgaraja Girika and Sundara was celebrated and sounded a drum. And when a great crowd had collected, he exhibited in a drama events in the life of Bhagavant, in harmony with the Abhiniskramana sutra. Thereby the performers and the assembled crowds were confirmed in the faith. And they uttered sounds of approval, and he made a large profit".²

Before we can trace the earliest version of this legend in ancient Pālī Literature, it is impossible to assess the age of this story or its authenticity. But it seems to have an aroma of antiquity about it. We may compare the popular and edifying effect of the first dramatic representation of the life of the Buddha, with the first display of the Portrait of the Buddha recorded in the legend of Rudrayana (*Divyāvadāna*, p. 547).

Both the legend of the First Image of the Buddha and the First Buddhist Drama—appear to belong to a time, when any manner of personal worship of the Blessed One was not only looked down upon, but prohibited and proscribed. I have shown elsewhere³ how a passage in the *Brahma jāla sūtra* actually interdicts any representation of the Image of the Buddha, who on the earliest Buddhist monuments is represented only by symbols (*pādukā*, *chattrā*, *uṣṇiṣa*, and *piṇḍa-pātra*). This abhorrence against pictorial or dramatic representations of the Buddha, must be taken to belong to the time when the Theravāda views—and the Puritan Hinduist attitude towards aesthetic representations were still dominating, and that is why in the Legend in the Tibetan version, cited above, Nanda rebukes the actor for his blasphemous ambition of exploiting the Life of the Buddha for

2. Credit is due to Dr. COOMARASWAMY for first indicating the significance of this legend for the history of Indian Drama.

3. "The Antiquity of the Buddha Image", *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, New Folge, XIV, Heft 2/3, pp. 41-59.

artistic and edifying purposes. The Hinayanist attitude towards Art and aesthetic representation is unmistakable in this legend and tends to place it at a period before the time when any plastic or dramatic representation of the Blessed One came to be tolerated. Even Āśvaghōṣa, in publishing his *Saundarānanda Kāvya* in the artistic form and conventions of Epic Poetry, had to offer elaborate apologies for using the incidents of the Life as material for his Epic: "The poem, dealing thus with the theme of Salvation, has been composed in the form of classical poetry *not to give pleasure*, but to further the attainment of tranquillity and with the intention of attracting hearers devoted to other topics" (Canto XVIII, Verses 62, 63, JOHNSTON'S Edition).

By the second century B.C., if not earlier, the main incidents of the Life of the Buddha had become well-known to the populace—if we can judge from the records of the Life depicted on the monuments at Sanchi, and of Amravati of the Early Period. That the actor in the legend recorded in Tibet did not know of the incidents of the Life and asked for them from an intimate disciple seems to suggest that he belonged to a time when the Life had not become a matter of common knowledge to the populace. It is reasonable, therefore, to claim that this legend, though now surviving in a late Tibetan version, must belong to fairly early times—when the details of the Life were not known to the populace and when the Hinayanist prohibition against personal representation of the Buddha was still in full force. This must be sometime *after* the death of the Buddha, and if the personage referred to as Naga Nanda be the famous disciple Ananda (a purely hazardous guess) then the story may be assigned to a time *shortly* after the death of the Buddha, when Ananda was still alive. But whether this legend records an authentic incident or not, it proves the current practice of the actors of the time to exploit the life of distinguished persons for dramatic representation. In other words, the Art of the Drama was a popular and established aesthetic craft, out of which actors made a living. If the evidence we have cited, here, can be relied on and if the reasons put forward, here, in support of the antiquity of the story are valid,—the history of Indian drama in its true and essential form could be pushed back to five hundred years before Christ.

Calcutta.

O. C. GANGOLY.

NOTES OF THE MONTH

A few months ago we had an occasion to refer to the good work done by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona for the promotion of Oriental research during the last twenty-five years. It was also mentioned by us that the authorities of the Institute were making arrangements for the celebration of its Silver Jubilee during the course of the current year. We learn now that these arrangements are progressing satisfactorily and will be complete before long. One of the features of the Silver Jubilee celebrations will be the publication of the Silver Jubilee Volume of the Annals of the Institute. This would be the twenty-third volume of the Annals to be issued in two parts, one of which will contain survey articles pertaining to different fields of Indology, while the other will be devoted solely to research papers. As the extent of both these parts is expected to come to about 800 pages the Institute will not be able to bring out the usual quarterly issues of the Annals for the current year.

The Institute has been approaching several individual sympathisers and benefactors of the Institute for donations in connection with the Silver Jubilee, but it is possible that this appeal may not reach every one of them. We hope, however, that all lovers of Oriental learning would contribute liberally towards the Silver Jubilee expenses in recognition of the valuable services of the Institute for the promotion of Oriental learning.

REVIEW

Marriage and Family in Mysore by M. N. SRINIVAS, M.A., LL.B. with a Foreword by Rājākāryāpraviṇa N. S. SUBBA RAO, M.A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law; New Book Company, Hornby Road, Bombay, 1942. Pp. 218+one map. Size 7—5½"×8½". Price Rs. 7-8-0.

Indian Sociology is a very complicated subject on account of the variety of castes and tribes that now populate India. In spite of the numerous books dealing with these castes and tribes that have already appeared one is constrained to admit that scientific study of Indian Sociology has not yet received that attention at the hands of serious scholars which it deserves especially in view of the bearing of this study on all social reform worth the name. We, therefore, welcome the present study of *Marriage and Family in Mysore* by one, who is a Research Fellow in Sociology at the School of Economics and Sociology of the University of Bombay as it is based on a careful field study on which depends the future progress of Indian Sociology.

Indian culture as we call it is a composite growth with many aspects. Kannaḍa culture is a part of it and the present study of its social institutions will be very useful for further research in the different aspects of this culture. Research students require accurate, detailed and reliable information gathered first-hand by their brothers in the field and we have no hesitation to say that the present volume contains such information with reference to marriage and family within a specified geographical area and mainly confined to the Kannaḍa speaking castes. It has been the fate of all pioneers to be criticized by subsequent writers on the subjects to which they devoted the best part of their lives and labour. This fate, however, is inevitable as there is no finality in human work. We owe all the same a deep debt of gratitude to all these pioneers and must love them, if not revere them in spite of our criticism of their views. Mr. SRINIVAS has accordingly expressed his indebtedness to the late Mr. L. K. Anantha Krishna IYER as a good part of the present volume is devoted to interpreting and criticizing the material so assiduously collected by him.

The volume consists of 19 chapters dealing with such topics as bride-price, marriage restrictions, kinship terminology with reference to marriage restrictions, the role of the maternal uncle in ceremonies, choice of bride and bride-groom, marriage rites of Brahmins and non-Brahmins, widow marriage, divorce and sex ethics, puberty rites, pregnancy rites etc., death ceremonies, religious life, desire for children, the Basavis, family in folk-lore, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law conflict, and position of women. Besides the material gathered from previous authors Mr. SRINIVAS has collected some interesting and useful data from the caste leaders by questioning them with regard to their beliefs and rites. He has also added some data from folk-lore and modern Kannaḍa fiction.

It is only the scientific approach to Indian Sociology that can give us a vivid picture of our social institutions in their correct historical and sociological perspective. The present study, though limited to the Kannaḍa speaking castes of Mysore, gives us a more balanced perspective of the marriage and family aspects of these castes than that furnished by the merely descriptive accounts of the Gazetteers or the speculative accounts given at times by irresponsible journalists who hardly evince a desire to go deep into a subject and possess the necessary means and leisure for executing any literary work with any conscientiousness worth the name.

Besides an exhaustive Index the volume contains appendices, giving lists of Kannaḍa castes etc. and a very useful Bibliography of Books and Articles on the subject. The publishers deserve our thanks no less than the author for the neat and attractive printing of the book.

P. K. CODE

THE MATRIARCHAL ELEMENTS IN THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE NIMAR BALAHIS

By

STEPHEN FUCHS, S.A.D.

Mother-right in the strict sense of the word means : inheritance in the female line, with regard to relationship as well as to property.¹ However, the inheritance in the female line is only one phenomenon in a whole complex of cultural elements which some anthropologists, especially those of the so-called Viennese Anthropological school, who represent the "Culture-Historical method of Ethnology", describe as the "matriarchal culture-circle."² This matriarchal culture-circle must be regarded, according to W. SCHMIDT and W. KOPPERS, the founders of the Viennese Anthropological school, as a primary social structure, developed from the originally bilateral social system of the primeval culture (Urkultur) and resulting from the predominant economic role, which the women attained after their invention of agriculture. It stands to reason that in the course of time, by inner evolution as well as by the intermixture and blending of different cultures, certain features of the matriarchal culture, so for instance the inheritance in the female line, have undergone a more or less radical change, while other characteristics of the same culture-circle have been left intact. From these remnants it is possible, with more or less certainty, to draw conclusions of the origin and cultural history of a certain race and to define its relation to other peoples and cultures.

Even if we do not share the views of W. SCHMIDT and others who maintain that the origin of the matriarchal culture-circle lies in India, or more precisely, in the country south of the eastern parts of the Himalaya range, there can be little doubt of the central position which mother-right occupies throughout India.³ The excavations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa bear out this view and point to "(a) the predominance of the pre-Aryan element in the cultural structure of what we call "Hinduism", and (b) the matriarchal character of this advanced pre-Aryan civilization to which present-day and medieval India owes so many elements, impulses and cultural moulds".⁴

Recently Baron Omar Rolf EHRENFELS has published a comprehensive monograph on "Mother-right in India" (Hyderabad 1941), in which he

1. O. R. EHRENFELS : *Mother-right in India*, Hyderabad 1941, p. 7.

2. W. SCHMIDT and W. KOPPERS : *Voelker und Kulturen*, Regensburg, 1924, pp. 256-297.

3. SCHMIDT-KOPPERS : *op. cit.*, p. 266 and p. 545 ; W. SCHMIDT : The position of women with regard to property in primitive society, *American Anthropologist* N. S., XXXVII, p. 249 ; O. MENGHIN : *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit*, Vienna, 1931, p. 278.

4. O. R. EHRENFELS : *op. cit.* p. 1.

describes some matriarchal model castes in the North-East and South-West of India, analyses the mother-right elements in the ethnography of totemistic tribes in Central India, and attempts to prove the matriarchal origin of several much-discussed phenomena in Hinduism, as for instance: Hypergamy, contempt of widows and unmarried girls, vegetarianism. By way of demonstrating the matriarchal character of some as yet inexplicable features in the ethnography of the Rajput caste, he tries to solve the "Rajput problem".

The study, offered in the following, has, to a large extent, been inspired by O. R. EHRENFELS' monograph and, in many parts, makes use of the material, compiled by him, without, however, identifying itself with the often far-fetched and bold conclusions, which Dr. EHRENFELS thinks himself justified to draw from his material. But in view of the universal importance of mother-right in India, which Dr. EHRENFELS has certainly proved as an established fact, this paper may be useful as a contribution to the study of the matriarchal castes of India. It attempts to point out the matriarchal elements in the ethnography of a caste which, although it has now to a large extent adopted Hinduism, is doubtlessly of non-Aryan stock.

The caste to be examined in the following study is the Nimar group of the Balahis who are probably an offspring of the large Kori weaving caste of the United Provinces.⁵ This study of the Balahis appears all the more interesting, since they live in the area of the totemistic culture-circle, in Central India. The Balahis, numbering 561,662 according to the Census of India 1931, inhabit the northern and western parts of Central India. They are most numerous in Rajputana (218,857) and the Central India Agency (191,194). The Nimar Balahis represent the southernmost branch of the caste and live in the Holkar State and the adjoining Nimar district of the Central Provinces, south of the Nerbudda.

The literature on Balahi ethnography is scarce. However, all the material, which so far has been published in various magazines, is being used and quoted in this study, while the details, which are not documented, are taken from a monograph which is being prepared for publication by the author of this paper.

It is very difficult to define the racial group to which the Nimar Balahis belong. So far no morphological data have been published, and it is questionable, whether such data would avail much, because the Balahis have ever increased their numbers by considerable accretions of other castes. Dr. E. W. MACFARLANE in 1941 tested the blood of Balahis and found that they are akin to Mahrattas, Rajputs, Jats and Pathans.⁶ The Balahi's own traditions are quite in harmony with these results. They claim to have come from the north-east of India and settled in the Nimar as the menials of Rajput

5. R. V. RUSSEL and HIRALAL : *The tribes and castes of the Central Provinces of India*, London 1916, Vol. II, p. 105.

6. Cf. E. W. MACFARLANE's lecture at the R. A. S. B. at Calcutta, on August 4th, 1941.

immigrants, whose surnames they are still to the present day. Also their clan-registers show that a considerable number of Balahi clans claim a Rajput ancestor.⁷

1.—CLAN-ORGANISATION AND INHERITANCE.

The Nimar Balahis are divided into different exogamous clan-groups with patrilineal descent. Clan-exogamy is so strictly observed that a widow who remarries may not take a new husband of the clan of her former husband nor of her father's clan. Nevertheless it is difficult to state, if the Balahis are of totemistic origin or not. The animal and plant names of certain Balahi clans, like Baghmariya from bagh (tiger), Chil Salwiya from chi' (vulture), Panthu-Bor from bor (fruit of *Ziziphus vulgaris*), and some clan deities (Gubrai mata is the owl!) suggest a form of totemism now almost smothered by accretions of Hinduism. Certain restrictions in wearing clothes of a certain colour and the prohibition of eating goat's meat in some clans point in the same direction.⁸

However, there are certain features in the clan-organisation and inheritance of the Balahis—and these elements represent just the oldest and specifically Balahi customs—which suggest mother-right origin or at least strong matriarchal influences of a very high age.

The Balahi myths and traditions name as their ancestress a female deity, Sakati, who, a virgin, gave birth to the first Balahi. The narration of Sakati's history records quite distinct matriarchal characteristics. It is she who asks the first man, Purush, to marry her. He refuses, but gives her power to create three men, out of a blister on her hand. Sakati pursues the three men with the request to marry her. But they too refuse, because they consider themselves her sons, being born of her hand. At last Sambhu, the youngest, gives her a foetus, five months old into her womb. As a punishment for her incestuous desire, Sakati must die at the birth of her son, whom Sambhu adopts. The child's name is Haribans. He is the first Balahi: His mother died at his birth, he has no father and is the child of a foetus of five months only! He is mud and the fruit of mud 'zer zamin ka pher!⁹

The fact that the Balahis trace their origin back to a female ancestress, without admitting a male ancestor; that this ancestress herself makes the advances for a husband and proposes to Purush and the three men, out of the blister of her hand; that the first Balahi is called the fruit of the soil: zamin ka pher—all this shows well-marked matriarchal features. EHRENFELS states that "female ancestors creating the particular caste or tribe as social unit" are a specific element of a matriarchal culture.¹⁰ The name of the

7. S. FUCHS: Clan-god myths and worship among the Nimar Balahis, in *Essays in Anthropology presented to Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy*, Calcutta, 1942, pp. 194-205.

8. S. FUCHS: Clan-god myths and worship, p. 205.

9. S. FUCHS: Clan-god myths and worship among the Balahis, p. 195.

10. O. R. EHRENFELS: *op. cit.* p. 11.

Balahi ancestress Sakati (Śakti-power), suggests a connection with the Śiva-Śakti cult, which EHRENFELS calls "so prominent" a feature in matriarchally influenced southern India."¹¹

But not only the ancestress of the whole Balahi caste is a female deity, also the Balahi clan deities are, in their great majority, goddesses who are worshipped with a ritual distinctly matriarchal: agricultural products are offered to the clan goddess, and while now goats and chickens are sacrificed in addition to the wheat cakes and coconuts, the Balahis still remember the former custom of human sacrifice.¹² Noteworthy is that in the sacrifice of a goat or chicken the head is always cut off and dealt with separately. Either it is buried with the bones in the floor of the house, or taken along home by the pujari (officiating priest). This custom may well be a remembrance of old rites of typically matriarchal cultures, in which the skulls of the slain victims played an important role as seats of the "principle of life". Since the clan god worship of the Balahis is performed to procure fertility, for family and fields, the connection with matriarchal fertility magics is obvious.¹³

This old Balahi clan-ritual, with its former human sacrifices, the decapitation of the sacrificed animal, the use of sacrificial blood or its substitute in the ceremonies of worship, are distinct matriarchal elements.¹⁴ Since the Balahis did not adopt the worship of the clan gods from Hinduism, this ritual must be an older, perhaps the original form of the Balahi religion.

In most patriarchal cultures the woman leaves, by her marriage, the clan of her parents, and enters for ever the clan of her husband. Not so with the Balahis: A divorced woman or widow returns to her family, unless she prefers to remain single. It is her father or brother who arranges her remarriage and receives the bride-price. The family of her former husband has no claim on her, yet her children remain with the relatives of her husband, except a newly born baby. A divorced or widowed woman who returns to her father's house may take along all her personal property, i.e. all what her own relatives had given to her. Although her husband, as long as he lived, had the right of disposal even of this property, after his death or a divorce, however, his family cannot consider such a property their own. This Balahi custom is in opposition to the property concepts of other Hindu castes with patrilineal descent: in these castes the widowed woman remains in the clan and family of her late husband till remarriage, and cannot claim any property her own.

Although according to the Balahi code, no woman may dispose freely of her property—she either depends on her husband or son, or the nearest relatives of her own family—many Balahi women do keep private property. It is not unusual that women hide a part of their earnings and use the money

11. O. R. EHRENFELS : *op. cit.* p. 68.

12. S. FUCHS : *Clan-god myths and worship among the Nimar Balahis*, p. 199.

13. R. HEINE-GELDERN : *Kopfgeld und Menschenopfer in Assam und Burma, Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, Vienna 1917, p. 1.

14. EHRENFELS : *op. cit.* p. 11.

at their own discretion, either in a case of emergency, or for the marriage of a favourite son or daughter, or to cover the expenses of their own funeral feast. Though these secret savings infringe on the rights of the head of their family, this custom is so common that it is, if not acknowledged, at least tolerated.

The position of the women of the Kaneriya clan provides another point of the exceptional position of women in the Balahi caste: The male members of this clan, which claims Rajput descent, are forbidden to eat goat's meat, owing to a vow of their clan ancestor, as the tradition records. The women of this clan are, however, exempted from this prohibition. In the worship of their clan-god, on occasion of the marriage of one of the male clan members, a goat is sacrificed and its meat eaten by all the clan members present, while their women and unmarried children are by no means allowed to attend the ceremonies. They even have to leave the house and sleep outside during the night. As reason for this exceptional treatment of their female relatives the Kaneriyas give that their own daughters and sisters will leave the clan by marrying into another clan, while their own wives do not belong to the Kaneriya clan by birth. It is remarkable that also unmarried boys are exempted from taking part in the sacrificial meal, although they were forbidden to eat goat's meat at other times like the grown-ups.¹⁵ This custom of the Kaneriya clan resembles the matriarchal form of marriage, where the women retain their native clan-membership even after marriage. That the Kaneriyas exempt also their own women from the observance of this vow shows that here patriarchal and mother-right views come to a clash.

The position of the Balahi women, in regard to their clan membership and rights as well as to their property, is not quite in line with the views of patriarchal cultures, but more congenial to mother-right cultures, in which the women often are, at least nominally, the head of the family and the owner of their property.¹⁶ While theoretically the male Balahi is always the head of a family and as such owns all the family property, while he alone can inherit and even his wife is not seldom called "her husband's property", over which he may dispose at will,—the founder of the whole Balahi caste and of most of the clans is a female deity, the women retain to a certain extent their old clan membership and a customary right to private property. Their position is not as inferior to the men as usual in patriarchal cultures and many a Balahi woman is well able to assert her rights. Apparently two principally opposed tendencies come here in conflict and the outcome depends on the personality and character of man or woman!¹⁷

2.—BIRTH AND INITIATION RITES.

In a matriarchal culture the initiation of boys is either of little import-

15. S. FUCHS: Clan-god myths and worship, p. 203.

16. SCHMIDT-KOPPERS: *op. cit.* p. 265.

17. S. FUCHS: Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der Balahis, *Anthropos*, Vienna, XXXII 1937, p. 885.

ance or entirely absent, while the first menstruation of the girls is celebrated with some display. But this ceremony is no public or general initiation into the caste society, but a family affair, in which on occasion of the first menstruation the maturity of the future mother is celebrated. During her first menstruation the girl is kept apart in a dark corner of the house, may not go out in bright daylight—a characteristic expression of the belief that the menstruation is caused by the moon—may not move about freely and must abstain from certain dishes of the meal. At the end of her seclusion, she must take a bath, then is dressed in new clothes and ornaments and feasted with a certain display of solemnity. From now on she is marriageable.¹⁸

This description of the matriarchal initiation ceremonies of girls is an exact record of the Balahi ritual on occasion of the first menstruation of a girl. "The Balahis have for their young people, boys as well as girls, no official introduction to sexual life, such as an initiation ceremony ... Attainment of the age of puberty by the girls receives more attention. As soon as the first menstruation occurs (*kapre siyai*), the girl is separated and placed in a corner of the house. There she has to remain hidden, and she must especially avoid being seen by men, even her nearest male relatives ... She is considered unclean ... On the fourth or fifth day the girl goes, accompanied by the older womenfolk of the household, to the well or river, in order to purify herself. There she washes herself and her old clothes and puts on new ones. The women who helped her also wash themselves and change their clothes. Then they return home as cleansed."¹⁹ Soon after the first menstruation the girl is sent to her husband, to begin the married life with him.

During their menstruation all women are considered unclean, they are not allowed to cook or to fetch water, although they may work in the fields, etc. SCHMIDT-KOPPERS²⁰ consider menstrual uncleanliness an invention of pastoral and totemistic cultures, while the matriarchal cultures are said to express more satisfaction and joy over the beginning maturity of a girl. J. G. FRAZER, however, considers ceremonial uncleanliness of a woman in her periods a phenomenon also of mother-right cultures.²¹ In this opinion he may be right, as the seclusion of a woman and her ceremonial uncleanliness during menstruation is also common among typically matriarchal cultures.²²

When a Balahi woman is about to give birth to a child, she often returns to her parents, especially if it is her first baby. This custom, though not always observed, is still very common. EHRENFELS calls it a matriarchal usage.²³

18. SCHMIDT-KOPPERS : *op. cit.* p. 273-274.

19. S. FUCHS : *Birth and childhood among the Balahis, Primitive Man*, Washington, XII, 1939, p. 72.

20. SCHMIDT-KOPPERS : *op. cit.*, p. 275.

21. J. G. FRAZER : *The Golden Bough*, London 1909, part VII, Vol. I, pp. 22-100.

22. EHRENFELS : *op. cit.* pp. 62-63.

23. EHRENFELS : *op. cit.*, p. 87.

There are no traces of *couvade* observable among the Balahis, the father of a new-born baby is free of any restrictions. Of course, in case there are no other women in the house, he must do the house-work, fetch water, cook and wash, because the young mother is considered unclean and must not leave the house for at least three weeks.

On the 11th day after the birth of the first child a very significant rite, among other ceremonies, is performed : " A yoke is placed on the ground. . . and the parents of the child have to sit on it. The mother holds the child on her lap. Before them a brass plate is set, containing rice, kuku (red powder), and a diwani (a little earthen pot with oil and a wick in it). The wick is lit. Then four girls come and put kuku, the red paint, first on the husband's forehead, then on the young wife's and on the child's forehead. The wife's father gives the girls two annas. Next a loincloth is placed on the shoulders of the husband (the child's father), having a dhela (paisa) tied in one of its corners. The wife's sari is joined to the man's dhoti. After a short time the barber (nai) loosens the knot and takes out the coin, which is intended for him.²⁴

This ceremony resembles that of the marriage ceremony and in reality is considered as a renewal of the same. Among the Balahis the marriage is only then really completed, after a child is born. Before this they are generally considered more as boy and girl ; but from then on as man and wife. The view that a marriage becomes lasting only with the birth of a child, is typically matriarchal. In mother right cultures it is common that the husband goes to the house of his wife to live with her, or man and wife live separately for ever or at least till to the birth of the first child. In tribes with mixed cultural elements the wife usually lives with her husband, but returns for shorter or longer periods to her parents, at least in the first years of their married life.²⁵ It is common also in matriarchal cultures that women enjoy a relatively great sexual liberty, either before their marriage or at home on a visit.²⁶

Among the Balahis it is the custom that the young wife follows her husband to his house, but she returns often for longer or shorter periods to her parents, till long after the birth of the first child. Admitting that the Balahis, at least theoretically, do not approve of any leniency in sexual affairs, young Balahi women are said to be easily seduced, if kept away too long from their husbands. The Balahis insist on an early return of young women to their husbands and give as reason for it as well as for the introduction of child marriage, that they feel themselves unable to keep sufficient guard over

24. S. FUCHS : Birth and childhood among the Balahis, p. 80.

25. SCHMIDT-KOPPERS : *op. cit.* p. 267 ; D. N. MAJUMDAR : Some aspects of the cultural life of the Khasas of the cis-Himalayan region, *Journal of the R. A. S. of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1940, Vol. VI, p. 28.

26. SCHMIDT-KOPPERS : *op. cit.* p. 312 ; EHRENFELS : *op. cit.* p. 11 ; D. N. MAJUMDAR : *op. cit.* p. 32.

their girls.²⁷ That the marriage of a Balahi is always in danger of being dissolved till to the birth of the first child, is proved by the relatively high number of divorces just among young couples.²⁸ Such customs, certainly not in accordance to the patriarchal code, explain the rites performed at the birth of the first child, which represent the repetition of the marriage ceremonies.

However, the observance of menstruation and the ritual of the birth ceremonies, as recorded of the Balahis, are equally common among the other low caste Hindus of the country. These customs, therefore, although they unquestionably show matriarchal features, do not necessarily demand the conclusion that the Balahis are of matriarchal stock, because they may have adopted these customs from the surrounding Hindu castes. Nevertheless, if combined with other matriarchal elements of more original Balahi character, these features may well help to accentuate the matriarchal stamp of the Balahi ethnography in general.

3.—MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

The marriage ceremonies of the Nimar Balahis follow to a large extent the Hindu low caste ritual. It is fairly certain that the great majority of these rites, as well as child marriage, has been adopted by the Balahis and does not represent any peculiar form of the Balahi culture. Though these ceremonies contain many matriarchal elements, they must not be overrated in their value for proving the matriarchal origin of the Balahis. However, the Balahis have certain customs and usages, especially with regard to irregular forms of marriage, widow marriage and divorce, the married life, which, while in opposition to the common Hindu laws, are peculiar to the Balahis. It is remarkable that just these customs bear mother-right character or represent a compromise between patriarchal and mother-right cultures.

In every marriage a bride price must be paid to the family of the bride. Though the bride-price is low for a girl-child, the price of a widow is several times as high as that of a child. The Balahis give as reason for it that a grown-up woman is an economic asset, and therefore her family must get a compensation for the loss of her working-power. The payment of a price is common in mother-right cultures, in which formerly the serving marriage was the custom. The service of the bridegroom is no longer demanded, but a certain amount of money is paid instead.²⁹

But also the serving marriage itself, this outspoken matriarchal form of marriage, is not uncommon among the Balahis. Poor boys who are not able to pay the bride-price and the expenses of their wedding, often go and serve for their wife in the house of their future parents-in-law. Balahis who have no male offspring often take such a boy into their house. They have to pay the expenses for the wedding and cannot demand a bride-price, but in ex-

27. S. FUCHS : Birth and childhood among the Balahis, p. 73.

28. S. FUCHS : Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der Balahis, p. 901.

29. SCHMIDT-KOPPERS : op. cit. p. 270.

change the boy has to remain in the house of his parents-in-law and to work for them. He will inherit the family property, unless he prefers to make himself independent after a few years of serving. This often happens, because such a son-in-law is not always treated well.³⁰

The wedding ceremonies always take place in the bride's village. After the wedding the girl-wife goes with her boy-husband to her father-in-law's house, but only for about a week. Then she is brought back and remains with her parents till to puberty. Soon after her first menstruation she goes to live with her husband, but on certain Hindu feasts and other occasions she returns to her parents' house for a longer or shorter stay. The ties with her own family are thus not severed so abruptly, as it is the custom in the higher Hindu castes.³¹

Every time a woman takes leave from her family to return to her husband, her female relatives begin to cry and mourn over her as over a deceased. R. V. RUSSEL considers this a matriarchal element and thinks that it expresses the reluctance of the family to let her go to her husband, while in former times the husband came to stay with his wife's family.³²

Until the first child is born, the husband watches jealously over his wife. She is forbidden to talk to any young man except her or his nearest relatives. But when at home with her parents, she is more free and it not seldom happens that scandals occur, especially if the parents are slow in sending her back to her husband. In some villages the Balahi girls and women are notorious for their illicit liaisons with other men. Many Balahis are reluctant to marry a girl from such villages, not so much out of indignation over such a behaviour but of fear of trouble, which may ensue. For the husband or the parents of a woman may be punished for a public offence of the moral laws, while no personal punishment is inflicted on the unfaithful woman by the panchayat (caste-council). They are punished, because they have not been watchful enough to keep her on the straight path, while the girl or woman is not made responsible for anything. Nor is her bride-price affected much, if, in case of a divorced or widow, she remarries. This shows that the Balahis are very lenient in judging the moral conduct of their women, in comparison to the high Hindu castes and other patriarchal races.³³

The remarriage of a widow shows still more matriarchal features. Noteworthy is that the consent of the woman is required for the marriage as well as for the choice of the bridegroom. If she disapproves of a suitor, the negotiations end at once. The woman's choice is always considered, though her consent is sometimes obtained not without forceful persuasion.

The wedding of a widow takes place in her native village. Although she goes afterwards at once to her husband's house to live with him, she returns

30. S. FUCHS : Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der Balahis, p. 904.

31. SCHMIDT-KOPPERS : *op. cit.* p. 310 ; S. FUCHS : Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der Balahis, p. 900.

32. R. V. RUSSEL and HIRALAL : *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 147.

33. S. FUCHS : Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der Balahis, pp. 902-903.

after a week to her family. About two weeks later her husband comes alone to fetch her. Before he leaves, he kisses the feet of his mother-in-law and of the other women in the house. A small present is offered to him in return.³⁴

Polyandry is not a Balahi custom, although illicit liaisons of a woman with her husband's younger brothers may occur, especially as long as they are unmarried. Whilst any intimacy between father and daughter-in-law is forbidden, a woman may converse freely with her younger brothers-in-law, even if she be alone with them in house or field. She can also be beaten by them, which is not allowed to any other man except her husband.

These customs can be considered as relics of former polyandry, the more so as the word "sare !" (brother-in-law), i.e. you were intimate with your sister-in-law, is a most ordinary and common invective among the Balahis, and all other castes of the country. Another reason for the probability of former polyandry is that even in a case, when a woman lives openly with her brother-in-law, as it sometimes happens, the Balahi caste-council does not take any action.³⁵

Polygamy is allowed for Balahis, but limited for economical reasons.

Divorce is permitted and fairly frequent. A man can simply send his wife back to her parents. If he fails to call her back, her parents will after some discussions make arrangements for a new marriage. Sometimes a man treats his wife so badly that she runs away. If several attempts for a reconciliation fail, or if the woman elopes again, a divorce will be arranged. But in such a case her former husband is paid indemnity, for the expenses he had had at the time of marriage.

Another, somewhat disreputable form of marriage is, when a woman herself goes to the house of a man and declares her intention to live with him.

It also happens that a woman denounces a man before the caste-council of intimate relations with herself. If his offence is confirmed, he is obliged to marry her or to be punished severely.

These latter forms of marriage are, though disreputable, considered as fully legitimate. They are, no doubt, of matriarchal character.³⁶

In the more primitive and, as it seems, more original forms of the Balahi marriage ceremonial the matriarchal features are predominant. The patriarchal elements in the wedding ceremonies and married life of the Balahis are all to be found in the customs and laws of the surrounding Hindu castes ; wherever the Balahis differ from the Hindu code, they show matriarchal characteristics. Since the Balahis have adopted Hinduism only lately, these characteristics may well be a proof of the matriarchal origin of the Balahi ceremonial.

(To be Continued).

34. S. FUCHS : Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der Balahis, p. 900.

35. *Ibid.* p. 903.

36. SCHMIDT-KOPPERS : *op. cit.* pp. 268-269.

A NOTE ON THE RHYTHMIC DISTRIBUTION OF NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN THE ŚĀTAPATHA BRĀHMANA

By

S. M. KATRE, Poona.

1. In my paper on the Studies in the Rhythm of Old Indo-Aryan Vocables : 1. The Nominal Compounds of Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa¹ I had inadvertently omitted a certain number of compounds from the statistical computation. I wish to rectify this omission here.

2. I shall merely indicate here the vocables so omitted under the proper classification attempted in the Appendix to the above paper the numerals at the beginning indicating the serial continuation in that category of the vable so treated.

II—1. √ √	129. karmacīt
15. kuvid	130. kāsṭhabhīt
II—2. — √	III—6. — — √
33. ṛtvij	133. ūrvasthā
III—1. √ √ √	134. ṛgvedā
44. ṛtasād	135. ekarcā
III—2. √ — √	136. ekasthā
108. ṛtāvṛdh	137. ekāhā
109. ṛtāśāh	138. ékaika
110. ānṛtvij	139. ékoti
111. kṛtānnā	140. etādṛś
III—3. √ √ —	141. evamīvid
18. ṛtajā	142. kāmāprā
19. ṛtubhāj	143. kīmīyotis
III—4. √ — —	144. kūtāpa
34. kimārtham	III—7. — √ —
35. kīmicchant	36. ekadhā
36. kuśorṇā	III—8. — — —
III—5. — √ √	46. ṛksāmé
122. ūgrāsa	47. ékasphyā
123. ūrdhvacīt	48. etaddā
124. ṛksama	49. kakṣyaprá
125. ékapad	50. kastambhī
126. ékavṛt	51. kimkāmyā
127. kaṅkacīt	IV—1. √ √ √ √
128. karmakṛt	45. ṛtupaśú
	46. ṛtumúkha

47. ṛṣiciti
48. kalaśadīr
49. kṛṣāpaśu
- IV—2. √ √ √ √
135. rgaṣiti
136. ṛtādhānan
137. ṛtavādīn
138. ṛtupātrā
139. ṛtulokā
140. kavīśasta
141. kṛtākarma
- IV—4. √ √ — —
22. ṛtasatyé
- IV—5. — √ √ √
95. ūrdhvānabhas
96. ūṣapuṭā
97. ekavarā
98. ekadhana
99. ékadhanin
100. ékavidha
101. ékaśapha
102. ekasabhā
103. kimpūruṣa or
104. kimpuruṣā
105. kṛtsnavṛta
- IV—6. — √ √ √
251. ūrudaghna
252. ūṛṇavābhi
253. ūṛṇasūtrā
254. ūrdhvābarhis
255. ūrdhvābāhu
256. ūrdhvabudhna
257. ékadhiṣṇya
258. ékarūpa
259. ekaveśmān
260. ekaharṇsā
261. kaṇṭhadaghnā
262. kārmaḍeva
263. karmanāmān
264. kāmācārā
265. kāmārūpīn
266. kulphadaghnā
267. kṛttikāñji
268. kṛttivāsas
- IV—7. — √ √ —
14. kāmādúghā
- IV—9. √ — √ √
128. ṛṣistuta
129. kavīkratu
- IV—10. √ — — √
140. ānevarṇvid
141. kurukṣetrā
- IV—11. √ — √ —
13. kṛtākṛté
- IV—13. — — √ √
95. ūrjāhuti
96. ūṛṇamradas
97. ekākṣarā
98. ekāyanā
99. ékāhika
100. ékāhuti
101. ékeṣṭaka
102. ékottara
103. evaṛṇkratú
104. kāmāśana
105. kíndeṇvata
- IV—14. — — — √
113. ūrdhvastóma
114. ūrdhvocchvāśin
115. ékāratni
116. evaṛṇnāman
117. evaṛṇrūpa
118. evaṛṇvīrya
119. kāmāpraśná
120. kíndeṇvátya
121. kírtiślóka
122. kṛtyārūpa
123. kṛṣṇāgrīva
- IV—15. — — √ —
29. ékeṣṭakā
- IV—16. — — — —
19. evaṛṇvidvāṁs
- V—2. √ √ √ — √
49. ṛtusahasrá
50. kuṇapagandhā
51. kuvalasaktú
- V—6. √ √ — — √
23. kurupañcālā
- V—9. — √ √ √ √
29. kāmādhāraṇa
30. kāmācaraṇā
31. ekavacanā
32. ékadhanavíd
33. ékacitika
34. ṛjvalikhitā
35. ūṣasikatā

V—10. - - - - -

67. ékakapāla

68. aindraturiyā

69. oṣadhiloka

V—11. - - - - -

5. ekaśatadhā

V—12. - - - - -

4. ekaśalākā

5. kṛṣṇaviśāṇā

V—13. - - - - -

71. ekādhāntatas

72. kavyavāhana

V—14. - - - - -

37. ekadevātya

38. ekadhābhūya

39. ekanakṣatrā

V—16. - - - - -

4. kaṇḍikāsamkhyā

V—17. - - - - -

25. ākāmahata

26. kṛtānukarā

V—18. - - - - -

69. karambhapātrā

70. ākṛttanābhi

V—23. - - - - -

4. kāniyastanā

5. kilātākulī

V—24. - - - - -

5. ānevarivīdvāms

V—25. - - - - -

28. ekāhatanā

V—26. - - - - -

45. ūnātirikta

46. ékapradeśa

47. evāmsamṛddha

48. karkandhusaktu

V—27. - - - - -

12. ekādaśadhā

13. ekādaśinī

V—28. - - - - -

9. ūrvasthamātrī

V—30. - - - - -

18. ūrvaṣṭhivāni

19. ékavyākhyāna

20. etaddevātya

21. etāvanmātrā

V—31. - - - - -

10. ekārāmātā

VI—18. - - - - -

14. ākṛtaśmaśāna

VI—33. - - - - -

8. ékaśatavidha

VI—35. - - - - -

2. uṣṇihakakūbhau

VI—38. - - - - -

4. ékapuroḍāsa

VI—45. - - - - -

10. uṣṇiṣabhājana

11. ékādaśākṣara

VI—46. - - - - -

4. ékādaśāratni

VI—50. - - - - -

14. aindravāyavāgra

15. evamabhyānūktā

16. ekavimśasampād

17. ékapuṇḍarika

VI—51. - - - - -

1. ekavimśatidhā

VI—54. - - - - -

7. ekavimśástoma

VI—61. - - - - -

4. evanivīdbrāhmaṇa

VII—65. - - - - -

1. ékaṅghapatika

VII—66. - - - - -

3. ekapadikānāman

VII—73. - - - - -

2. oṣadhivanaspatī

VII—82. - - - - -

6. ékādaśakapāla

VII—98. - - - - -

3. aindravāyavapātrā

VII—102. — — — — —

2. *ekavīṇśatīratni*

VIII—71. — — — — —

2. *ṣaḍhivanaspatayāḥ*

VII—121. — — — — —

2. *ekavīṇśadaḥṣara*

VIII—230. — — — — —

1. *ekāḥṣaradvyaḥṣarāṇi*

Thus the total number of nominal compounds to be considered will be 179 more than those indicated in the above paper, and therefore 2999 instead of 2820. Table I will therefore be modified as follows :

Table I.

No. of syllables.	No. of vocables.	Percentage.
2	81	2.7
3	572	19.07
4	1222	40.74
5	693	23.1
6	291	9.7
7	100	3.33
8	34	1.1
9	4	0.13
10	2	0.06

In the following table the different types and the number of vocables in each type are indicated, without the percentage of the total in each group.

Table II.

Rhythmic type	No. of vocables.	Rhythmic Type	No. of vocables
II.—1.	15	9.	129
2.	33	10.	141
3.	7	11.	13
4.	26	12.	27
III.—1.	44	IV—13.	105
2.	111	14.	116
3.	19	15.	20
4.	36	16.	19
5.	130		
6.	144	V—1.	14
7.	36	2.	49
8.	51	3.	2
		4.	5
IV—1.	49	5.	33
2.	141	6.	23
3.	5	7.	8
4.	22	8.	3
5.	105	9.	55
6.	268	10.	69
7.	14	11.	5
8.	41	12.	5

Rhythmic Type	No. of vocables	Rhythmic Type	No. of vocables
13.	72	38.	4
14.	39	39.	3
15.	7	41.	7
16.	4	42.	8
17.	26	43.	2
18.	70		
19.	7	VI—45.	9
20.	9	46.	4
21.	19	47.	4
22.	26	48.	2
23.	5	49.	6
24.	5	50.	17
25.	28	51.	1
26.	48	52.	1
27.	13	53.	8
28.	9	54.	6
29.	20	55.	2
30.	21	57.	4
31.	10	58.	12
32.	2	59.	3
		61.	4
		62.	4
VI—1.	4	64.	2
2.	6		
3.	9	VII—1.	3
6.	8	2.	1
7.	1	4.	1
8.	1	6.	1
9.	13	7.	1
10.	11	9.	2
11.	1	10.	2
12.	3	15.	1
13.	10	18.	3
14.	3	19.	1
15.	5	22.	1
16.	1	23.	1
17.	6	25.	1
18.	14	29.	2
19.	2	34.	2
20.	3	38.	1
21.	3	39.	1
22.	4	40.	1
25.	12	42.	1
26.	11	43.	1
27.	2	44.	1
28.	3	45.	2
29.	2	46.	1
30.	8	49.	6
33.	8	50.	1
34.	12	53.	1
35.	2	57.	2
36.	1	59.	1
37.	6		

Rhythmic Type	No. of vocables	Rhythmic Type	No. of vocables
61.	2	127.	1
65.	1	128.	1
66.	3		
70.	3	VIII—1.	1
73.	2	5.	1
74.	2	6.	1
77.	1	18.	1
78.	1	25.	1
80.	1	42.	1
81.	2	53.	1
82.	6	61.	1
85.	1	65.	1
86.	2	71.	2
89.	1	81.	1
91.	1	85.	1
93.	1	106.	1
98.	3	113.	1
99.	1	114.	1
101.	4	137.	3
102.	2	149.	1
104.	1	150.	2
105.	1	153.	1
106.	2	155.	1
109.	1	161.	1
110.	1	169.	1
113.	2	173.	1
115.	1	177.	1
117.	2	93.	1
121.	2	207.	1
123.	3	230.	1

Major group II consists of compounds made up of (a) two mono-syllabic vocables or (b) one mono- and one bi-syllabic vocables joined in sandhi as in *dvy-ahá* or *praty-ānc*.

Major group III consists of compounds made up of (a) two bi-syllabic vocables joined in sandhi : *ajāvi* or (b) or one mono- and one bi-syllabic vocables without sandhi : *cātuṣ-pad* or *tri-kāṇḍa* or finally (c) of one mono- and one tri-syllabic vocables joined in sandhi : *dvy-uraṇā*.

Major group IV consists of compounds made up of (a) two bi-syllabic vocables : *madhu-kulyá* ; (b) one mono- and one tri-syllabic vocables : *havana-śrūt* or *tri-kapāla* ; (c) one bi- and one tri-syllabic vocables joined in sandhi : *aparāhné*, *hásty-ṛṣabha*.

Major group V consists of compounds made up of (a) one bi- and one tri-syllabic vocables : *ádharma-mūla* or *grāha-grhita* ; (b) of one four-syllabic and one mono-syllabic vocables : *abhimāti-hán* or *tri-mahāvratā* ; (c) of two tri-syllabic vocables joined in sandhi : *prathamottamā*.

Major group VI consists of compounds made up of (a) two tri-syllabic vocables : *apara-puruṣá* ; (b) three bi-syllabic vocables : *ahar-ahaḥ-karmán* ;

(c) of one bi- and one quadri-syllabic vocables : *ubhayāto-dvāra* or *paśu-puroḍāśā* ; (d) one tri-syllabic and one quadri-syllabic vocables joined in sandhi : *upāṁśv-antaryāmān* ; (e) one bi-syllabic, one tri-syllabic and one bi-syllabic vocables in sandhi : *agny-ādheya-rūpā*.

Similarly Major group VII may consist of members of five and two syllables, four and three, or a larger number of vocables having two to three syllables, with or without sandhi.

In a final survey of rhythmic distribution of all the nominal compounds this further subdivision of the larger major groups according to the number of vocables contained within each compound may have to be taken into account.

MISCELLANY

AGNI IN THE VEDAS

In my articles entitled "Planets in the Vedas," and "The Indian Epics and the Planets," I have shown that Agni in the Vedas means the planet Mars in the sky, the sacrificial hall of the gods, corresponding to the sacred fire in the altar in the sacrificial hall of men in this world. Agni, the planet Mars, is called the *Hotar*, caller, on account of his calling the attention of men to the arrival of the season of eclipses. He is *Purohita*, seated visible in the sky, and *Rtvij*, sacrificer by seasons, on account of his indicating the eclipse-seasons, when on the day of eclipse animal or vegetable sacrificial offerings were made or entrusted to the sacred fire to be carried to the gods concerned in the eclipse-fight. The Vedic eclipse cycle of 1000 days is based on the sidereal year of Mars. It is very well known to students of astronomy that Mars makes a revolution along his orbit in 687 days, that is, he comes to the point from which he started his race along his circular path in the sky in 687 days back. This period is equal to two nodal years or eclipse-years of 343 days each. Three nodal years of 343 days each are equal to 1029 days, which is equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ revolutions of Mars along his orbit. This is the Vedic cycle of 1000 days, during which three lunar eclipses of different digits and colours are repeatedly said to be observable on an average, the theoretical number being twelve eclipses. Let us suppose that the sun and the moon are opposite, the sun in the *Kṛttikās*, and the moon in the asterism *Viśākhā*, exactly 180 degrees apart. Let us also suppose that Mars, Agni, the deity of *Kṛttikās*, is in the same asterism 10 or 15 degrees above the sun, or ten or fifteen degrees above the moon in the asterism, *Viśākhā*. Then it being a full moon day there will be a lunar eclipse. Suppose that these three planets are in conjunction in *Kṛttikā* or in *Viśākhā*, there will necessarily be a solar eclipse, it being a new moon day. Since Mars takes 687 days to come back to *Kṛttikās* after leaving it on his race, he takes only 343 days to arrive at *Viśākhā*, which is 180° apart from *Kṛttikās*. Every one knows that 343 days form a nodal year and if the last day is a full moon or new moon day, a lunar eclipse in the former case, or a solar eclipse in the latter case cannot be avoided. Suppose we start on a full moon day or a new moon day, then the 343rd day cannot be a full moon or new moon day. In such a case if we add 10 or 11 days more, the 354th day will be full moon or new moon day. The appearance of Agni, Mars, in the east or in the west, and the addition of ten days are stated in the Vedas. (R. V. 1, 31) "O Agni, you make the sky roar for the sake of man *Purūravas*, who has performed good deeds and for whom you are of good mind. As soon as you are let out from the lap of your parents (sky and earth), you take to the east (as *Āhavanīya* Agni), and then to the west (as *Gārhapatya* fire)." Though not mentioned here, Mars is *Dakṣiṇāgni*, when he is in the zenith, that is, when he is south.

The whole of the fifth Maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda* is devoted to the story of *Attri*; *Attri* means eater with his three faces or mouths in 1000 days of all things, inclusive of planets. Verse 2 of R.V. V, 1 describes *Kumāra* or *Ṣaḍānana* or god *Subrahmaṇya* with six faces or six nodes, who can be no other than the eclipse-cycle of 1000 days each with three eclipses on an average. *Attri* is stated to have been in a pit of fire for ten days. He is called *Pāñcajanīya*, one of the five gods, subject to birth and death year after year of their own. The ten days of his fall are the ten days, which are necessarily to be added to 343½ days to make it 354 to culminate in a new-moon or full-moon day, as already pointed out. R.V. V, 40 is very important as throwing light upon *Attri*'s planetary character. The deities praised in it are *Indra*, *Sūrya*, and *Attri*. When *Svarbhānu*, the Asura, pierced *Sūrya* the sun, with darkness, all creatures were bewildered; *Indra* smote the Asura down, and *Attri*, by means of *Turiya*, fourth, prayer or face, discovered *Sūrya* concealed

in gloom. This none besides had power to do. In verse 7 the sun says to Attri :— "Let not the oppressor with this dread, through anger, swallow me up, for I am thine, O Attri; *Mitra* art thou, the sender of true blessings, thou and king *Varuṇa* (Saturn) be, both my helpers." The *Mahābhārata* describes several Agnis, ritual fires, and says that all the fires have come from Attri. The Purāṇic idea is that the sun and the moon are born from the eyes of Attri. The story of Dattātreyā's birth as a son with three heads to Anasūyā, the wife of Attri, brings out the nodal nature of Attri and his wife. The three gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra went to her, it is related, and requested her to cook three iron-balls and feed them with that food naked. She at once sprinkled water over them and turned them into a single child with three heads and fed the child with the balls cooked. Here Anasūyā in her nakedness is either the moon or the sun in eclipse of black colour; Attri's child with three faces is Agni's cycle of 1030 days equal to 3 nodal years and 30 days with three eclipses, the fourth cycle of 343 + 10 days having become *Vaśā*, a barren one, as stated in Tait. S. II. 1, 1; hence Attri is stated to have rescued the sun with the fourth cycle, which is his fourth face.

In R. V. I, 105, a plaintive hymn, *Trita Āptya* reveals the nodal nature of Agni, the planet Mars. Under R.V. I, 52, 5 *Sāyana* quoting *Tait. Br.* says that the three deities, *Ekata*, *Dvita*, and *Trita* are Agni's sons born from *Āpaḥ*, waters, where Agni is said to reside. The *Sata. Br.* says (1, 2, 3, 1) the same thing. In R. V. VI, 44, 23 *Indra* is said to have found out nectar concealed in the regions of *Trita*. In R. V. II, 11, 20 *Indra* is said to have smashed *Arbuda* (eclipse demon) strengthened by the exhilarating *Soma* pressed by *Trita*. The *Maruts* reinforce the power and strength of *Trita* and *Indra* in their battle with *Vritra*, who has enveloped the gods with darkness. (VIII, 7, 24). *Trita* in all these hymns is Mars with his three (rather 6 nodes) in his $1\frac{1}{2}$ revolutions in the course of 1030 days. This idea is borne out in R.V. I.105. The verses of the hymn are as follows :—

The moon is in the waters (*P. Āśadhā*); and the sun moves in the sky. But your lightning like rays of golden colour, (O gods), do not reach the *Pada* (the place of eclipse).

Heaven and earth, consider this state of mine.

Let not the gods stray away from their abodes in the sky; may we not on any account be without the comfort of *Soma* (*Soma-pāna* in lunar eclipse); O heaven and earth, know of this state of mine. 3

I shall ask a question of Agni, the carrier of all sacrifices; he is sure to consider well and answer, as he is the messenger. Where is the ancient *Rta*, the law of eclipse? who preserves it just at present? O heaven and earth, know of this state of mine. 4

O gods of the three bright places, abiding in the light where is your *Rta*? What is untruth to you? and where is the result of your old offerings? O Heaven &c.

Where is the observance of your *Rta*? Where is the knowledge of *Varuṇa*? Where is the guidance of the mighty *Aryaman*, (*Jupiter*) which would overcome enemies along the great path? O Heaven, &c. 6

I am he who sometime back sang your praises while offering *Soma*-libations; but now sorrows of disappointment have overtaken me, just as a wolf overtakes a stag that is running to quench its thirst. O Heaven. 7

There are these seven rays (seven lights—planets); among them am I; *Trita Āptya* is sure of it; he cries for kinship with them; O Heaven. 9

- May these five bulls who now stand in mid-heaven carry to all the
Devas deserving praises ; O Heaven. 10
- These Suparṇas (5 planets) are now in the sky ; they stop the
wolf which is now crossing the great stream on its path ; O
Heaven &c. 11
- Varuṇa supervises the rite ; we pray to him, as he knows the path ;
he awakens in us the thought that a new law (Ṛta) may come
into being. O Heaven &c. 15
- The sun has made a remarkable passage in the heavens ; the Devas
do not transgress it ; but the mortals do not see it. O heaven. 16
- Trita immersed in the well invokes the devas for succour ; Bṛhas-
pati who delivers all from sin has heard the prayer ; O heaven
&c. 18
- A tawny wolf once beheld me as I was walking along ; he rushed
upon me ; my back is aching like that of a carpenter ; O
heaven &c. 18

From the above verses it is easy to understand that the moon was in P. Āṣādhā, the deity of which is Apah, waters. The sun (Suparna) was in the sky (Div), perpetuating Satya, as stated in verse 12. Satya and Ṛta are applied in the Vedas to days and nights, when the sun is in the Kṛttikās and Viśākhā respectively. It follows, therefore, that he was in the asterism Kṛttikā, the middle of Sky, or the period of Uttarāyana. The five bulls (five planets) stood in the sky ; of them the two Aśvins, who never leave the vicinity of the sun, must necessarily be in the sky. The other three, Saturn, Mars, and Jupiter, who are spoken of as "These Suparṇas" in verse 11 are said in the same verse to be in the Avarodhana of the sky. Avarodhana means an entrance that can be shut or opened, thereby implying obstruction. Therefore they must be in the locality where Uttarayana commences, that is, Capricorn. It is very well known from the hymns addressed to the Aśvins, the divine physicians, as contrasted with human Aśvins, Mercury and Venus, that Trita suffered for ten days in a fiery pit like Attri till the morning gods, the Aśvins, who run in the front announcing the arrival of the sun every morning, as morning stars, made his home cool and snug for him. (R. V. 1, 112, 7 ; 16 ; 116, 8 ; 119, 6 ; V, 78, 4 ; VII, 71, 5 ; VIII, 73, 7-8 ; X, 39, 9 ; 80, 3). In fact Trita is third eclipse in a cycle of 1000 days ; now he had not become the third eclipse. He had become Attri, not tri, not third. Evidently there is a pun here on the word Attri, not tri, not becoming three or third. Trita, as he ought to, had not become the third eclipse, because the golden rays of the sun with moon near him or at 180 from him failed to reach the place of Trita to make him Piṅga eclipse, as stated in the first verse. The combined rays failed to reach him, because Vrika, the wolf, went astray. According to Yaska Vrika of verse 18 is the moon, who on the full-moon day was not with Agni. Mars, but was far away in Viśākhā. GRIFFITH and LÜDWIG took Trita to mean Soma. They would have been correct, if they had taken it to mean lunar eclipse. Anyhow there was no lunar eclipse on the full-moon day because the planet Mars was not with the moon. When the moon came near Mars so as to rush on his back, as stated in verse 18, the moon was in P. Āṣādhā, from which he had to make 10 days journey to reach the sun in the Kṛttikās. Therefore Trita longingly requests the gods in verse 3 not to deprive him of the comfort of Soma-drink by repeating such disappointments to him in future. Nor there was any likelihood of a solar eclipse on the new moon day to come in or near Kṛttikās, ten days hence, for Mars would be with the sun and the moon even on that day, he being in Capricorn, as shown above. Hence seeing the failure of Ṛta, Varuṇa's eclipse-laws, Trita bemoans of the break of Ṛta, which

so far worked satisfactorily, but which at the time of Trita's complaint broke to his regret, requiring emendation or a new law, as stated in verse 15. [Whether the cause of failure of eclipse-law is due to moon's irregular movements or to Mars, who is taken as the node without taking into consideration his movement from left to right as contrasted with the movement of the nodes from right to left, or to both, is an astronomical problem which I cannot but leave to experts to decide. I have stated what all the vedic texts and the traditional commentaries of Yaska and Sayana imply. There is no doubt, however, that the fixation of the period of a lunation at 29.5 days instead of 29.530 days by the Vedic astronomers has to a large extent contributed to the failure of the Vedic eclipse laws. The difference of .030 days between the Vedic and the real lunations gives rise to an error of 10 days in the course of 27 years and 9 months. The ten days' fall of Trita or Attri into a pit is not, however, the ten days needed to make a nodal year of 343 days a lunar year of 354 days so as to make the nodal year terminate with a new moon or a full-moon day. (Vide "The Drapsa" and "the Eclipse-cult").

When it is known that the Vedic people could determine the arrival of summer-solstice and of winter-solstice by observing the arrival of the sun at the middle of Āśleṣā and at the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā respectively at the time of Vedāṅgajyautiṣa in B.C. 800 to 900, it goes without saying that they were keen observers of the starry sky. Their adoption of a five years' cycle with two intercalary months to adjust the lunar with the solar year and the cycle of 1000 days with one intercalary month later as more precise than the former proves their capacity in mathematical science. Besides the eclipse cycle of 1000 days they had a cycle of 13 years with 33 eclipses observed on an average, and a cycle of 40 years with 99 eclipses called Sambara's forts. Their table of eclipse cycle is:—

One eclipse-cycle of 1000 days with 60 or 62 days contains three nodal years with six nodal points yielding 3 to 12 eclipses; seven cycles amount to 7000 days equal to nearly 19 years and 14 cycles to 14000 days to 38 years. Adding the two months of 30 days each to each cycle of 1000 days, we have a cycle of 2 years and 10 months; the cycle of 19 years comes to be a cycle of 20 years; and the cycle of 38 years amounts to nearly 40 years. Agni, the planet Mars, is the presiding deity of the cycle of 1000 days which is the basis of all these cycles. This Agni, sacred fire, is kept in the house-hold of every orthodox Brahman. He is worshipped both morning and evening, day after day. The following verse is recited at the time of worship.

"Catvāri śṛṅgā trayo'sya pādā
dve śiṛṣe sapta hastāso asya.
tridhā baddho vṛṣabho rauravīti
maho devo martyām āviveṣa."

Four are the horns; three are his legs; two are the heads; and seven are the hands; tied in three ways the bull bellows; the great god has entered into the mortals.

The four horns are the four eclipses in each nodal year, one solar and one lunar eclipse being in each node. The three legs are the three nodal years of 1000 or 1030 days. The two heads are the two nodes, the ascending node and the descending node, called Rāhu and Ketu in later astronomical works. The seven hands are the seven cycles of 7000 days, one hand being given to each cycle to take up the offerings. They are called seven mouths of the fire, seven flames, seven stations, seven priests, seven kindling sticks. The three ties are for binding the three legs, on which the three cycles of 343 days with 10 days each, stand.

Elsewhere I interpreted this verse to mean the zodiac of 12 signs. But now it appears to me that it can be appropriately applied to the eclipse cycle of 7000 days. Experts may take it for what it is worth.

REVIEWS

Twenty-five years of Historical Research or Bibliography of the published writings of P. K. GODE, M.A., Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. For private circulation only. 1941—

This is a *Bibliography* of the Published Writings of Mr. P. K. GODE, the eminent Curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, foreworded by Principal J. R. GHARPURE, the present Chairman of the Executive Board of the Institute. A similar *Bibliography* noting year-wise titles etc. of Mr. GODE's 166 papers was issued in 1939 and the same has now been revised and brought up-to-date (11-7-1941). To the old list have now been added 34 fresh research papers which Mr. GODE wrote and published during the intervening two years as also 2 old papers, which, though written by Mr. GODE himself years ago, had evaded inclusion in the previous *Bibliography*. The number of the published papers in the present *Bibliography* is thus 202.

For the last twenty-five years, especially since he joined the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in 1919, Mr. GODE has been diving deep into the vast Pacific of rich MSS. collections, historical records and other reference literature. It was quite inevitable that a scientifically-minded scholar of his genius, industry and ability should almost always come up with precious gems that would not only enrich his own personal treasures but would form vivid torch-lights to all the workers in the field. Those of us who have had the privilege of knowing Mr. GODE personally are well aware of the truly scientific character of his methods of study and research that wonderfully minimise the chances of waste of labour and hit the mark almost unfaillingly. The result of his patient and untiring labour under such conditions is available to Orientalists in the form of an imposing number of original papers which gains strength almost every month.

Mr. GODE contributes his research papers regularly to several leading oriental and historical journals of the country. It would be no exaggeration to say that the regular readers of those journals always await with interest the new messages concerning the past that Mr. GODE has to deliver through their fresh issues.

Majority of Mr. GODE's papers are devoted to the fixing of dates of a number of important Sanskrit works and authors on various subjects and to the identification in contemporary records etc. of several authors and other persons mentioned in those works or their MSS. These papers make a marvellously substantial contribution to the settling of old Indian chronology and no future writer of history of Sanskrit literature or of ancient arts, sciences, philosophy etc. can afford to ignore them. The papers on Kedārabhaṭṭa's *Vṛttaratnākara*, Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala's *Rāga-mālā* and other works, Arjunamīśra, Vādirājaṭṭhara, Rāghavabhaṭṭa, Vāgbhaṭa, Vimalabodha, the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, the *Nāṭakakakṣaṇaratnakosa*, Prabhākaraabhaṭṭa, Khāraṇādi, Āpadeva, Gaṅgādāsa's *Chanda Mañjari* and other works, Ānandapūrāṇa, Jagaddhara, Nilakaṇṭha Sūri, the *Viśvadarśa*, Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, Mahīdhara, Kavindrācārya Sarasvatī, etc. are especially important from this point of view. As the works dealt with in Mr. GODE's papers cover a range of not less than 28 subjects, scholars of each taste and temperament are sure to find something of their own interest in some one or other of these papers. To the general reader, too, such papers as those on the Hindu nose-ornament, Indian bullock-cart, mustard-seed, the snake-charmer, caste-name Gābit, use of guns and gun-powder in India, use of Ganges-water by Muslim rulers, tea, the fig, etc. are sure to prove of utmost interest. Mr. GODE has also made some first-rate contributions to the Maratha and Muslim

periods of Indian history. His papers on Harikavi's historical poems, Sewai Jaising's Aśvamedha sacrifice, Gāgābhāṭṭa's *Samayanaya*, Keśavabhāṭṭa Karve, etc., have proved highly instructive even to the researchers in the field of history. In fact, to Mr. GODE goes the credit of discovering for the first time contemporary evidence for Shivaji's Bhavāni-sword and Bhagvā-jheṇḍā which plays such an important role in the national sentiment of Mahārāṣṭra but were on the point of being dismissed as mythical for want of such an evidence previously.

However, we are here mainly concerned with the *Bibliography* wherein, too, Mr. GODE's scientific hand is conspicuous at many steps. The two indices appended have greatly added to its utility and its printing and set-up are excellent. The students of Indology cannot but be highly thankful to Mr. GODE for his present of the bunch of keys to the scattered treasures wherein his gems have been preserved. We sincerely wish him a long life and a still more glorious success in the future.

Ujjain.

SADASHIVA L. KĀTRE

Wayfarer's Words—By Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, D.LITT., M.A. Vol. II, pp. 373-719. Luzac and Co., London—1941. Price sh. 3 paper; sh. 4 cloth.

From notice of the first volume in which Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS had brought together 30 of her lectures and articles on "Buddhism" (already published in the *NIA*) readers would have understood something of the ceaseless and tenacious devotion of hers to the cause of Buddhism, and in the volume under notice (second) the distinguished Wayfarer has grouped "sporadic writings and lectures" in which are recorded her own distinctive researches in "early Buddhistic sources". In the course of a brief "preface", Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS explains that she differs from "current Southern Buddhist values", and from "certain opinions (and translated terms) of Western students of Buddhism". The second volume contains 30 chapters or sections. I would invite special attention to the discussion entitled "wherein I differ" (pp. 415-426) in which she claims that hers is a view truer than what the "Buddhists now teach" or "books about Buddhism tell you". Who will win in the long run? Authors of old books? Or Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS and those who think with her? Readers can easily guess the answer.

In another section readers will find a discussion—"Is Buddhism a Religion"? "Man and Deity in original Buddhism" is another profoundly scholarly contribution which deserves deep and careful study. Within the limits of this notice it must obviously be impossible to commend or to controvert the basic and fundamental conclusions arrived at by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS with which students of philosophy should be assumed to be fairly familiar. But, in the interests of impartial and disinterested metaphysical investigation certain general observations may be recorded.

The main complaint of Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS is that the original PALI records which contain the teaching of SAKYA-GAUTAMA have not been properly studied and evaluated. If the original texts are properly studied and evaluated, many a bubble may easily be pricked. As contrasted with the original Buddhism of pristine purity, Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS speaks of INSTITUTIONAL BUDDHISM which may be held responsible for doctrines of Pessimism, Atheism, and kindred metaphysical concepts associated with Buddhism in general by unthinking and uncritical folk who do not (if we are to follow the lead of Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS) seem to have examined the original Pali records at all. Failure to have dispassionately mastered the contents of the original texts is by no means the monopoly of authors on Buddhism, a certain type of authors roundly condemned by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS. Indian

and European writers on the so-called "Indian Philosophy" have wrought incalculable havoc and mischief because, they never cared to study the originals, but, depended pathetically and entirely on indifferent translations.

Be that as it may, Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS suggests in her procedure a like approach to SANKARA. It is possible to separate ORIGINAL SANKARA—Advaita from INSTITUTIONAL SANKARA Advaita and one may proceed to vindicate the original as against the Institutional. I am not aware of any organized or systematic attempt made in that direction, but, *obiter dicta* in the works already published are plenty to the effect that the conclusions of later ADVAITA as developed and worked out by master-minds like APPAYYA DIKSHITA and MADHUSOODAN SARASVATHI happen to be at variance with those embodied in the original works of Sankara. "Man fructifying in the MORE on the way to the MOST" is doubtless an attractive ethical or moral ideal on which Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS can write any number of volumes *con amore*. But, even the original Pali texts have to be studied and interpreted in the light of the historical evolution of the Buddhistic doctrines as a whole.

Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS seems to be obsessed with the idea of "Identity with the MOST"—the HIGHEST" (p. 426) assertion of which was not the object of the Sakya Mission, but active moral life in the direction of the MORE and the MOST. Mrs. DAVIDS knows or must know that this identity-doctrine has been categorically denied and repudiated by Theistic system-builders like MADHVA who has pointed out unmistakable points of identity between Buddhism and Advaitism. OR, may it not be a courageous and perfectly legitimate metaphysical or philosophical methodology to argue that identity between the finite-man and the MOST may be shown to have Upanishadic and rational sanction? If so, in the pre-realization-of-identity stage, finite Man, MORE, and MOST, and everything in that line would be perfectly in order.

In conclusion, I desire to emphasize just one truth. While scholars and researchers like Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS can write glowing accounts of the contents of original Pali texts, they do not recognise their duty and obligation to explain why original Buddhism was thus overrun by the Institutional as easily as the Hitlerite hordes overran the low countries, and why secondly, both early and later schools of Buddhism were overthrown by Sankara. The law of the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest must apply to systems of philosophy as well, and the conclusion seems irresistible that Buddhism had in it germs of its own destruction. If not, its fate in the land of birth is inexplicable.

Kumbakonam,
May, 10, 1942.

R. NAGA RAJA SARMA.

SIR JOHN LOW'S SERVICES AT BITHUR 1818-25

By

PRATUL C. GUPTA, Calcutta.

Sir John Low entered the Company's service as an Ensign in the Madras Army in 1804, and next year he rose to be a lieutenant in the 1st Madras Native Cavalry. During the Maratha War of 1818, he acted as Sir John Malcolm's aide-de-camp and succeeded in bringing about the surrender of the Peshwa. He was next appointed the Commissioner with the ex-Peshwa at Bithur which post he held till 1825, when he was transferred to Jaipur. A few years ago Sir John Low's grand-daughter Miss Ursula Low published a biography of her grand-father. Miss Low worked mainly on family and private papers and naturally had little to say about her grandfather's political activities. The archives of Bombay and New Delhi however contain a number of important state papers which may be profitably used in writing an account of John Low's services in India.

When the Peshwa submitted to the English in July 1818, he asked Malcolm to permit John Low to accompany him to the North.¹ Accordingly Low was ordered to escort Baji Rao to the place of his future residence.² On account of the rainy season and troubles in the Central Provinces caused by Appa Saheb's escape, it was deemed inexpedient to cross the Narmada near Jubbulpore and the route through Bundelkhand was rejected.³ It was settled that Baji Rao should proceed to Ajmere through Rajputana and then move towards Delhi or any other place that the Governor General might decide.⁴

John Low found his position somewhat difficult. The violence of the rains rendered the movements of the British troops very uncertain, and interfered with the regularity of the dawk. Besides, the question of Baji Rao's permanent residence still remained unsettled. Previously, before Baji Rao's surrender, a paper containing six articles was sent to him by Malcolm.⁵ One of these provided that Baji Rao would be escorted to "Benares or any other sacred place in Hindusthan" that the Governor General might think proper.⁶ Baji Rao at first favoured the idea of residing at Benares, and Malcolm on his part did nothing to discourage this intention. He believed that "the prospect of visiting and remaining at that sacred city" might render the Peshwa less difficult, and he also thought that "to deny him the solace in his banishment would be to outrage that religious feeling which may... be

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| 1. Bom. Pol. Pro. 26 Aug. 1818 p. 4898. I.O. | 2. <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 3. Sec. Pro. 24 July 1818 No. 22. I.R.D. | |
| 4. <i>Ibid.</i> Bom. Pol. Pro. 26 Aug. 1818 p. 4898. I.O. | |
| 5. Sec. Cons. 26 June 1818 No. 76. I.R.D. | 6. <i>Ibid.</i> |

expected...to reconcile him to his great reverse of fortune".⁷ It seems from Baji Rao's subsequent conduct that he was accustomed to regard Benares as his residence. On the 8th July, Governor General's Secretary Adam wrote to Malcolm, "It does not appear that any distinct promise has been made...but...Bajee Row has had sufficient grounds for indulging in an expectation that he will be permitted to reside at Benares".⁸ The Governor General was opposed to the idea of sending Baji Rao to Benares,⁹ and Malcolm himself was conscious "of the great inconvenience and perhaps hazard of allowing a prince of such rank and name to settle at Benares or any other Hindoo city".¹⁰ Benares was finally rejected and in September while John Low was proceeding towards Shapoorh he had various occasions to discuss the question of his future residence with Baji Rao and his agents. Baji Rao had not yet given up all hopes of residing at Benares, but had lost much of his former preference for that city, on account of the climate of the place which he believed to be unsuitable, and the presence of numerous Marathas in the City who would always expect pecuniary assistance from him.¹¹ Low was under the impression that Baji Rao on the whole would prefer Bithur to Benares.¹² The other places recommended by Low and rejected by Baji Rao were Monghyr and Gorokhpur. Baji Rao's agent Ramchandra Vyankotesh reported to Low that the ex-Peshwa had always "lived in one of the finest climates of the world, and the heat of Mongheer would kill him."¹³ Gorokhpur was objected to because there were "no temples of great sanctity" in the neighbourhood.¹⁴ The place which Baji Rao suggested as his permanent residence was Mathura,¹⁵ and in case the Governor General objected to it, he was willing to reside within one day's journey of the town. The place offered him excellent opportunities of passing his time in religious ceremonies.¹⁶ The Governor General however, was opposed to Baji Rao's choice of Mathura. He was unwilling to let him stay near the British frontier where he would have chances of "frequent communication with designing men".¹⁷ In October, the Governor General came to a decision and informed Low that he had selected Bithur near Cawnpore as the ex-Peshwa's permanent residence.¹⁸ Low was at first under the impression that though Baji Rao made certain complaints against the climate of Bithur he had no positive dislike to the place.¹⁹ But later on his agents Ramchandra Vyankotesh and Ana Desmukh visited Low and explained to him Baji Rao's objections to Bithur. Baji Rao had heard such bad reports about the climate on the banks of the Ganges and particularly at Bithur, that he begged that the

7. Sec. Cons. 24 July 1818. No. 22. I.R.D.

8. Sec. Cons. 24 July 1818. No. 24. I.R.D.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Sec. Cons. 24 July 1818 No. 22 I.R.D.

11. Sec. Pol. Diary 2 Dec. 1818 B.R.O.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. Poona Residency Inwards 1819. Vol. 58/101. Low to Adam. 22nd Dec. 1818. B.R.O.

19. *Ibid.*

Governor General should reconsider his decision, and let him stay at any place on the Jumna except near its confluence with the Ganges. He was prepared even to stay at Delhi which he described as "second Calcutta" completely under British control, and inhabited largely by his enemies, the Muhammadans.²⁰ A few days later, Low had an interview with Baji Rao in which the ex-Peshwa protested against the Governor General's decision and pointed out that if he stayed on the banks of the Ganges, as a good Brahmin he would have to take his bath in the river every morning, which would certainly injure his health.²¹ He asked Low to communicate to the Governor General his request that Bithur should not be finally fixed up until "he had seen the place and tried the climate a few days".²² Low informed the Governor General of Baji Rao's prayer, but continued his march down the Doab as arranged before and proceeded towards Bithur. The Governor General did not take Baji Rao's opposition seriously. The Governor General considered his objections 'frivolous' and pointed out that Bithur offered "so many advantages both in a public point of view and with reference to Baji Rao's convenience and the indulgence of his devotional habits" that he found no reason to alter his decision. Bithur had long been used as station of the district of Cawnpore, and the Governor General thought that it could not be an unhealthy place.²³ But it should be mentioned that the town of Cawnpore only six miles from Bithur was notorious for its unsuitable climate. Bishop Heber who visited the place in 1824 mentioned that he "had heard a very unfavourable account" of the climate of Cawnpore which was not however "confirmed by the residents".²⁴

Baji Rao took up his residence at Bithur in 1819 and John Low was appointed the Commissioner with the ex-Peshwa. Low's immediate tasks were laying down certain regulations for the guidance of Baji Rao's followers and decide the question of the jurisdiction of the Company's law Courts over them. No definite plan had yet been made. But as early as July 1818 the Governor General briefly discussed these points in a despatch to Low. The ex-Peshwa was "to lead a life of privacy, and ... his intercourse with the natives of rank should be restricted within the narrowest limits". He would be allowed to retain a small number of guards. His own person and those of his near relations should be exempt from the jurisdiction of the Company's law.²⁵ Baji Rao himself was particularly anxious to settle definitely all points relating to his life in retirement. During his march to the North he repeatedly wanted to discuss with the Governor General questions of his future residence, the extent of his personal freedom and the authority he might be

20. Poona Residency Inwards 1819 Vol. 58/101 Low to Adam 22 Dec. 1818. B.R.O.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

23. Poona Residency Inwards 1819 Vol. 58/101 Adam to Low 9 January 1819. B.R.O.

24. Heber. Narrative of a journey, Vol. I p. 366.

25. Sec. Pro. 24 July 1818 (24). I. R. D.

allowed to exercise, and asked for his permission to send his agents Ram Chandra Pant and Ana Desmukh to him.²⁶ Low always discouraged these proposals, and it was finally settled that the application for sending the Vakil to the Governor-General should be considered only after Baji Rao had settled at his permanent residence.²⁷ Baji Rao renewed his proposals as soon as he arrived at Bithur. Low successfully put him off for more than a year; but in July 1820 he found it difficult to postpone Baji Rao's applications any longer. The old plea that the Governor General would not permit Low and Ramchandra to leave Bithur unless order was established among Baji Rao's followers could not be put forward. Baji Rao's own conduct was impeccable. Instances of breach of peace in the Maratha camp which were formerly very common became very rare; and the general conduct of the Marathas had been "so remarkably correct of late", that Low felt that he "could no longer with justice refuse".²⁸ On July 1820 he wrote to the Governor General that Baji Rao intended sending a Vakil to Calcutta in order "to establish a feeling of friendship towards him in the mind of the Governor General", to have pensions or jagirs confirmed on some of his adherents, and also "to urge that the present system of administering justice" at Bithur might be made "more suitable to his dignity".²⁹

It is unfortunate that little can be said about the administration prevalent at Bithur. The Bombay records do not tell us much. It appears from Low's report to the Governor General that he was joined during his march to the North by Lieutenant William Low, his brother, who acted as his assistant till 1820.³⁰ Low was also helped by Robertson the Magistrate of Cawnpore. Some kind of control over Baji Rao's followers was very likely exercised by Ramchandra Vyankotesh who jointly with Low listened to civil and criminal cases.³¹ Low's letter to Metcalfe also mentioned a "proposed plan of the regulations for the management" of the ex-Peshwa's followers. But it is not clear from the letter what the proposed plan was or if it was working at the time. About one year previous to this in June 1819 a letter was jointly addressed by Low and Robertson to the Governor General suggesting a scheme for the administration of justice at Bithur. We do not know if it actually came in force. The principle which Low and Robertson believed ought to be followed was "giving as much attention to Baji Rao's feelings as is compatible with the preservation of good order". In short, their suggestion was this. A plot of land of about two square miles including the late civil station should be separated from the jurisdiction of the zilla of Cawnpore and set apart for the residence of the ex-Peshwa and his followers. The Commissioner at Bithur should exercise the power of a magistrate, should be empowered to prevent and punish crimes and should exercise full

26. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22, Low to Metcalfe. 28 July (?) 1820. B.R.O.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.* & Low—Fifty years with John Company, p. 120.

31. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22, Low to Metcalfe 28 July (?) 1820. B.R.O.

control over the police. All persons residing or apprehended within this jurisdiction should be placed under his authority. The Commissioner would have the power to punish petty offences with fine, imprisonment or stripes. In cases of serious crimes committed by Baji Rao's "immediate adherents" the trial should be conducted by the Commissioner and the proceedings together with his opinion of the case sent to the Niyamat Adalat in Calcutta. If a serious crime was committed by a person other than the followers of Baji Rao, he should be handed over to the Magistrate of Cawnpore. In cases where the crime was committed by one of Baji Rao's followers outside the Commissioner's jurisdiction, he should be apprehended and delivered to the Commissioner by the Magistrate. Civil suits where the defendants were followers of Baji Rao should be decided by the Commissioner. Should the plaintiff be a follower of Baji Rao, the case would be heard by the Commissioner, provided the defendant was a resident within the Commissioner's jurisdiction and the cause of action originated therein. In cases preferred by Baji Rao's followers against persons living outside the Company's jurisdiction, the complaint should be forwarded by the Commissioner to the District Judge. This document made it clear that the above rules were not applicable to Baji Rao or any member of his family. If any crime was committed by any of those persons he should be "dealt with according to a special resolution of the Government". It was further advised that the Commissioner should refrain from always "exercising the authority rested in him". Baji Rao should have the power "to punish petty offences amongst his followers in his own way", particularly when both parties in a dispute were his followers, provided the punishments were "commensurate with the offences committed", and did not "extend to life or limb or protracted and arbitrary imprisonment".³²

It seems that Baji Rao soon learnt to reconcile himself to his fate. When he arrived at Bithur in 1819, Low reported that his conduct "has hitherto been very exemplary", and writing in 1822 Lord Hastings observed that it had been such as on the whole to afford "great satisfaction".³³ The ex-Peshwa was not exactly the picture of a fallen monarch eating his heart in exile. But he had not given up all hopes of restoration and tried "to keep alive in his former territory an interest in his fate". He never made any serious bid for power. He was closely watched and hardly had any chance of making a move without the knowledge of the British. It is interesting to note that though Chaplin the Commissioner of the Deccan always looked upon Baji Rao with some amount of suspicion John Low was inclined to take a more favourable view of his activities. In spite of the usual prohibitions against holding communications with the public, Baji Rao occasionally managed to send messages out of Bithur. In September 1819 Elphinstone then Governor of Bombay learnt that Baji Rao had sent messages to different

32. Pol. Pro. 3 July 1819 No. 61 I.R.D.

33. Papers re : Pindary and Mahratta Wars p. 458.

persons in the Maratha country.³⁴ But the incidents which caused the greatest excitement were the activities of the Peshwa's former general Naro Pant Apte. Naro Pant Apte began his career as a favourite of the Peshwa. He played a prominent part in the Maratha War of 1818, but deserted the Peshwa and surrendered to the English before the war was actually over. Later on, he was asked by Baji Rao to join him at Bithur.³⁵ But he did not get on well with Baji Rao's Diwan Ram Chandra Pant and fell in disgrace. Elphinstone spoke of him in September 1819 as the only person "of any talents that the Peshwa had about him. He was however no favourite. . . . and never was treated with the confidence to which his character entitled him". His "habits were altogether so different from Bajee Row's", that Elphinstone was inclined to regard this invitation with suspicion.³⁶ Naro Pant Apte's stay at Bithur was short. Unless his presence at Bithur was the part of a preconceived plan, he must have been very much disillusioned. He came under promise of high pay, but as Baji Rao did not pay him proper allowances, he gradually drifted in the company of those Marathas vaguely described as Karkuns or mutsuddis. Many of them had held high posts in the Peshwa's Government, but could not secure any decent employment at Bithur and subsisted on miserable allowance.³⁷ About the middle of 1819, Naro Pant Apte informed Low that he intended settling at Gwalior and "get into any good trade", and asked for a letter of introduction to Captain Stewart the resident.³⁸ This was violently opposed by Ramchandra Pant Vyankotesh. He charged Naro Pant with ingratitude and wanted to compel him to stay at Bithur.³⁹ But as Naro Pant "appeared to be a quiet inoffensive person" who "had been ill-used" by Baji Rao, Low sent him the note addressed to Captain Stewart explaining that Naro Pant had been at Bithur, that he had to leave the place owing to the "irregularity in getting his allowances" and that he was "the person who gets a chair". But the matter did not end so easily. Chaplin believed that Low had been deceived and declared that Naro Pant had been "sent on a secret mission to Gwalior by the Peshwa".⁴⁰ But as late as the end of April 1821, Chaplin could not discover any proof of Naro Pant's guilt, and his only action which appeared unusual and highly suspicious to Chaplin was that he was "expending considerable sums in a house and establishment" and that he had "sent for his wife and family".⁴¹ About the middle of July 1821, Low referred to

34. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22. Elphinstone to Metcalfe 2 Sept. 1819. B.R.O.

35. *Ibid* & Chaplin to Warden 30 April 1821. B.R.O.

36. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Elphinstone to Metcalfe, 2 Sept. 1819 B.R.O.

37. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22. Low's memorandum dated 15 July 1821 B.R.O.

38. *Ibid*.

39. *Ibid*.

40. *Ibid*. & Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Chaplin to Warden 30 April 1821 B.R.O.

41. *Ibid*.

Chaplin's letter to Capt. Stewart in which he had accused Naro Pant of intrigues against the British and had related the story that one Roushan Beg was raising troops for the help of the ex-Peshwa near Gwalior, and very correctly pointed out that none of these charges were "in any way substantiated".⁴²

Intrigues in favour of Baji Rao had always been the bugbear of Chaplin. In January 1821 he reported to the Bombay Government that two persons from Bithur had arrived at Poona with the "ostensible object" of procuring a certain oil for the use of Baji Rao. Though no proof could be obtained, Chaplin had no doubt that as they visited some of Baji Rao's friends, they were really "bearers of messages" from the ex-Peshwa. He believed that oral messages were regularly sent to persons at Poona and suspected that Baji Rao was "assiduously engaged in a correspondence with several of the native States"; and that reports were spread at Poona and Bithur, that Baji Rao would "sooner or later return to Poona",⁴³ Chaplin further suggested that a secret agent should be appointed at Bithur to keep watch over Baji Rao.⁴⁴ At the time John Low was not present at Bithur, but Captain Blacker who officiated for him wrote an explanation to the Governor General in which he made light of Chaplin's fears. He no doubt informed Baji Rao of the inexpediency of sending his servants to Deccan for sometime, as the conduct of his messengers had created unfavourable impression and suggested that all such duties might be undertaken on his behalf by the Commissioner. But Blacker refused to share Chaplin's anxieties. He pointed out that the messengers about whom Chaplin complained had left for the purpose of procuring a particular kind of oil which was believed to be very efficacious in rheumatism and was prepared only in the south. The messages which were believed to have been delivered to certain persons at Poona should not raise any suspicion. The messengers no doubt expected presents from those to whom they communicated the news of the ex-Peshwa,—“and the more mystery and consequence they gave to the relation, the greater would be the reward they probably obtained”.⁴⁵ As regards the appointment of a secret agent at Bithur, he was quite opposed to it. He believed it "more likely to be productive of mischief than advantage". Baji Rao would never admit "a stranger into his confidence", and the newly appointed agent would be left to his resources and perhaps would contrive a plot for the purpose of afterwards discovering it".⁴⁶ The Governor General considered Blacker's explanation to be "quite satisfactory", and disliked Chaplin's scheme of employing a secret agent. He described this measure as "inexpedient", and ordered Blacker to dismiss the agent who had already arrived at Bithur.⁴⁷

42. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Low's memorandum dated 15 July 1821 B.R.O.

43. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Chaplin to Warden 20 Jany. 1821. B.R.O.

44. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Blacker to Swinton 18 Feb. 1821 B.R.O.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*

47. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Swinton to Blacker 10 March 1821 B.R.O.

Chaplin was however bent upon putting a stop to all intercourse between Poona and Bithur. He discovered to his horror that the Company's dawk had been sometimes the channel of communication and took measures to detect and prevent it in future.⁴⁸ He next issued a proclamation intending to stop all unauthorised communications with Baji Rao, and instructed the Collector to detect any infringement of this order.⁴⁹ Similar proclamations had been issued twice before, in February 1818 and in November 1819. A third notification was published in June 1821. It laid down that no person should go to the ex-Peshwa's camp without permission or send any messenger. All persons coming from Bithur must provide themselves with passports and must not bring any letter except those signed by the Commissioner with the ex-Peshwa. Passports were to be produced to the proper authorities at each station. It was further provided that no letter should be sent to Baji Rao's camp and any attempt to do so would be severely punished.⁵⁰ The Governor-General-in-Council "did not perceive any objection" to Chaplin's proclamation but warned him against manifesting "too great a suspicion" of the ex-Peshwa's design. He also questioned the policy of absolutely stopping all communications with Baji Rao's camp "when proposed to be made with the knowledge and sanction of the Commissioner at Bithur". The Governor-General further suggested that as Captain Low was about to proceed to Bombay, Chaplin might discuss with him the advisability of the appointment of a news writer should he still believe the services of such an agent would be useful at Bithur.⁵¹

Capt. John Low however could not carry on his work for sometime. In 1821 he had left Bithur and come to Calcutta, and from the Governor General's despatch of Aug. 1821, it seems that he was still there.⁵² He was expected to proceed to Bombay before taking up his duties at Bithur. But very likely he did not return to his station. In January 1822, while in Bombay, a complete breakdown in health compelled him to make the following application to the Bombay Government.⁵³

Sir,

The medical gentlemen who have attended me for some weeks past being of opinion that a voyage to sea of considerable length is necessary for my restoration to health and having recommended that I should quit this place for that purpose by the first favourable opportunity that may offer; I have forwarded their official certificate to that effect, to the Secretary to Government in the Political

48. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Chaplin to Warden 28 June 1821 B.R.O.

49. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Chaplin to Collector 28 June 1821 B.R.O.

50. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Chaplin's proclamation dated 28 June 1821 B.R.O.

51. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Swinton to Warden 5 Aug. 1821 B.R.O.

52. *Ibid.*

53. Poona Diary 1822, Vol. 13/75, Low to Warden 6 Jany. 1822 B.R.O.

Department at Fort William and have requested the permission of the most Noble the Governor General in Council, to pursue the plan which has been recorded.

I am informed however that the ship Partridge is likely to sail for St. Helena long before that permission can reach me and I beg leave therefore to solicit in anticipation of it the sanction of the Government of this Presidency, for my proceeding on board of the above mentioned vessel.....

Bombay }
January 6, 1822. }

JOHN LOW
Commissioner with Bajee Row.

We do not know exactly what was the illness Low was suffering from. His "medical gentlemen" describe it rather vaguely as "complaint of the lungs and other symptoms of long standing".⁵⁴ Miss Ursula Low refers to it as "an illness in which both lungs and liver were affected",⁵⁵ and her book which contains many family letters suggesting some very original remedies do not help one to arrive at the correct diagnosis. But possibly it could not be any kind of wasting disease. Low was fit to join his duties in 1825, and retired in 1858 after a strenuous career of 55 years in India.

John Low at first intended to proceed to St. Helena, but after he took his passages on the Partridge, it was decided that the ship would touch at the Cape of Good Hope.⁵⁶ In a letter addressed to the Governor General Low expressed his hopes of "avoiding the necessity of proceeding such a great distance as St. Helena, and of having an early opportunity of returning" to India.⁵⁷ Low however proceeded to St. Helena, but was disappointed with the climate of the island and complained of "the difficulty of taking exercise".⁵⁸ It is interesting to note that Napoleon who died in the previous year had similar grievances against the place. Low left St. Helena after a short stay and returned to Cape of Good Hope.⁵⁹ He next visited the island of Mauritius⁶⁰ and about the end of 1824 landed in India. He passed a few months in Bombay as Elphinstone's guest and took a boat to Calcutta intending to proceed to Bithur by the river.⁶¹ He must have looked forward to his work at Bithur; In November 1824 he had written to his father that the letters he had received from the Government and from Bithur showed that the "interests of some of the Native Chiefs under my control had been sadly neglected during my absence—that their affairs have been so mismanaged that I shall now have an intricate mass of counter-claims to unravel, which will be a tedious and troublesome task for me at Bombay and Poona".⁶² Low

54. Poona Diary 1822. Vol. 13/75 medical certificate dated 4 Jany. 1822 B.R.O.

55. Low. Fifty Years with John Company, p. 2.

56. Poona Diary 1822. Vol. 13/75 Low to Swinton undated? B.R.O.

57. *Ibid.*

58. Low: Fifty Years with John Company, p. 2.

59. *Ibid.* p. 20.

60. *Ibid.* p. 25.

61. *Ibid.* p. 36.

62. *Ibid.* p. 27.

however had no opportunity of resuming his work at Bithur. He arrived in Calcutta in September 1825,⁶³ and was ordered to proceed to Jaipur where he was appointed the resident. But he must have paid a short visit to Bithur for the Bombay records contain two letters written by him from the Commissioner's office in October and November 1825.⁶⁴ During Low's absence in 1822 his assistant Blacker officiated for him, but early in 1823 we find a new name, E. J. Johnson—who evidently succeeded him. Among the Commissioners Low's period of service was probably most interesting. When he took charge of the Ex-Peshwa the Maratha power was dead, and before he left Bithur he saw it safely buried. In 1822 Baji Rao was incapable of injuring British interests. Low was certainly not exaggerating when he stated about his followers in 1821 that these men "who held civil and military situations in the Deccan who have now no means of living but an irregularly paid monthly salary of forty or fifty rupees and a few pieces of indifferent clothes and shawls, three or four times per annum presented to them at the principal Hindoo festivals. This scanty subsistence too, they know to be a certain degree dependent on our concurrence, inasmuch as they have often been told that the Commissioner would be ordered to insist upon the dismissal of any of the followers whose conduct might be obnoxious to the British Government".⁶⁵

63. Low. Fifty years with John Company, p. 36.

64. Poona Diary 1825 Vol. 6/189 Low to Newnham 3 Nov. 1825. B.R.O.
Poona Diary 1826 Vol. 2/225 Low to Newnham 22 Oct. 1825 B.R.O.

65. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Low's memorandum 15 July 1821 B.R.O.

THE MATRIARCHAL ELEMENTS IN THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE NIMAR BALAHIS*

By

STEPHEN FUCHS, S.V.D.

4. THE FUNERAL RITES OF THE BALAHIS.

In opposition to the custom of most of the higher Hindu castes, the Nimar Balahis bury their dead. The ritual of their funeral and largely also the ceremonies on the tenth day after the funeral, have been borrowed from the Hindus and therefore show no distinctive features. However, when on the tenth day after death the usual Hindu ceremonies have been performed, the Balahi sadhu comes and performs a ceremony, which seems to be a peculiarity of the Balahis. He puts, under various rites, a burning earthen lamp into an earthen pot, then shuts the mouth of the pot with a coconut wrapped in a red cloth. It is said that, according to Balahi belief, this pot contains the soul of the deceased, the burning wick in it representing his *jiv*, his principle of life. The pot is then carried away to the river, while the women begin their mourning songs. At the river the pot is put down and a coconut offered. Then the men return home leaving the pot at the river side.³⁷

This ceremony shows a resemblance to a custom of certain matriarchal tribes, to separate the skull, which is considered to be the seat of the principle of life, from the body and to expose it somewhere on a platform or in the hollow of a stone, etc.³⁸ The performance of the Balahi sadhu intends, in principle, the same, only that the "principle of life" is represented by the light, the skull perhaps by the coconut. The exposure of the earthen pot on the river bank completes the similarity with the customs of the Assamese head hunters. It is noteworthy that this, typically matriarchal, ceremony is claimed by the Balahis to be one of their old original and indispensable rites, performed by the Balahi sadhu after and in addition to the already completed Hindu funeral rites.

5. THE RELIGION OF THE BALAHIS.

Nowhere more than in their religion the Balahis show, how far Hinduised they already are. They celebrate the usual Hindu feasts with the same rites as the Hindus do, they believe in Rama, Krishna and the whole confusing Hindu pantheon, if not with equal knowledge, then certainly with as strong a conviction.

* Continued from p. 82, July, 1942.

37. S. FUCHS: The funeral rites of the Nimar Balahis, *Primitive Man*, Washington XIII, 1940, pp. 76-78.

38. C. VON FUERER-HAIMENDORF: *The naked Nagas*, London, 1939, pp. 73-75; SCHMIDT-KOPPERS: *op. cit.* p. 281; EHERENFELS: *op. cit.* pp. 38, 42 a.o.

But even in their adherence to Hinduism they show a certain tendency to select for their special veneration the matriarchal elements in the Hindu religion. Most of their offerings and prayers are directed to the *Matas* (Goddesses) who are represented by a heap of stones painted red with vermilion. For with very few exceptions the Balahis have no shrines nor temples, but worship their *Deos* and *Matas* in the form of more or less shapeless stones.

In the celebration of Hindu feasts the principal feasts in spring and autumn, Holi and Dashera, are their favourites. Both feasts are celebrated in honour of a female deity, Holi with fertility rites and obscenities, Dashera with a buffalo sacrifice at the field boundaries. Another great feast is Nang Panchmi, when snakes are painted on the house walls and worshipped. The ancestors are worshipped the day after Diwali, every Balahi invoking his ancestors, as many as he can remember, and offering food to them. The Goddesses of contagious diseases are worshipped in epidemics and held in great esteem. If medicines fail, sickness is to be cured by Shamanistic rites and magics, the belief in demons and sorcery playing an important role in the life of an average Balahi. The observance of moon phases, a certain amount of lunar mythology, complete the matriarchal character of the Balahi religion. All these religious elements, common among all the low Hindu castes of the country, may have been adopted by the Balahis in preference to the more patriarchal features of Hinduism.

However, more important than these Hinduistic religious customs for defining the original structure of the Balahi culture are the remnants of the old original Balahi religion. As already mentioned, are the clan gods as well as the common ancestor of the whole Balahi caste, female deities. They are worshipped by offerings of agricultural products, by sacrifices of goats and chickens which are decapitated, and, formerly, also by human sacrifices.³⁹ On special occasions, in fulfilling a vow made at the time of sickness, or in great distress, an extra offering is often made to the clan-ancestress.

A special feature of the original Balahi religion is also their Mother-Earth cult, which is celebrated every year with great display. After an initial sacrifice of a goat (in former times of a boy, as the Balahis admit), the Balahi priests and dancers of the Earth-mother tour the whole district, everywhere well received by the Hindu farmers. The Mother-Earth is represented by a long Bamboo pole, carried in an upright position, with a plough-share or spear top on the lower end of the pole. The dancers are dressed in red garments and the blood of the sacrificed goat is spilt over their dress.⁴⁰

Another cult, performed in the country only by Balahis, is the worship of the *Kaṭi Mata*. The ritual of this cult is similar to that of the Mother-

39. S. FUCHS: Clan-god myths and worship among the Nimar Balahis, p. 200.

40. S. FUCHS: The Mother-Earth cult of the Balahis, *Anthropos* XXXVI, 1941.

Earth, the Kaṭi Mata being represented by two short sticks, tied crosswise. The whole performance shows great resemblance to the cults of the "Old Lady" in Bengal.⁴¹

The priests and dancers of both these cults are always and only Balahis. It is noteworthy that the worshippers of the different Matas are on no good terms with each other and often come to a fight, when they meet in a village. Their resemblance to matriarchal secret societies is undeniable.⁴²

The original forms of the Balahi religion show thus matriarchal character in a strikingly pure expression. Combined with the preference for mother-right features of the Hindu religion, the Balahis, in regard to their religion, must be considered as distinctly matriarchal.

6. OCCUPATION AND EMPLOYMENT.

A considerable portion of the Balahis are by trade weavers. That the Balahis are weavers since very old times, is clear from their traditions. In their myths weaving plays an important role, as well as the trade of Hari-bans, the first Balahi, as also later in the rescuing of many Balahis from captivity. The women of certain Balahi clans are not allowed to dress in clothes of certain colours, which are reserved for the dress of their clan Goddess. This proves that clothes play even a part in their old religion. It is remarkable for the origin and cultural structure of the Balahis, that weaving is a specific occupation of mother-right races. This has been proved by D. KREICHGAUER.⁴³

Many Balahis, perhaps the great majority, have now abandoned weaving, and already long ago spinning, owing to the introduction of mill factories, with which they cannot compete. They have adopted another matriarchal occupation: agriculture. The Balahis usually do not own any fields, but work as farm servants, daily labourers or tenants on the fields of their land-lords. The men are, however, always ready to do any job, while the women only work in the fields. Heavy field work and all work with bullocks, as ploughing, etc., is done by men, while sowing, weeding and partly also harvesting is done by women. Although occasionally a man does a woman's work, like weeding or cutting, only women or girls (and unmarried boys) are allowed to sow.

While women take an active part in the preparation of the yarn for the hand-loom—the actual weaving is always done by men—women do never any work connected with cattle. Even grazing, milking the cows and tending the bullocks is always done by men, only the cleaning of the stable is left to the women who use the dung for fuel or painting the house.

41. NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI: Cult of the old Lady, *Journal of the R. A. S. B.*, Calcutta, 1939, Vol. V, pp. 417-425.

42. SCHMIDT-KOPPERS: *op. cit.* pp. 275-283; H. WEBSTER: *Primitive Societies*, New York 1908, pp. 74-190; R. H. LOWIE: *Primitive Society*, New York 1920, pp. 257-337.

43. SCHMIDT-KOPPERS: *op. cit.* p. 671.

The Balahis are no good in farming, very few are able to manage more than a small field. This fact, as well as the lack of field-property, seems to prove that originally the Balahis were no agriculturists, but have taken to field work out of necessity, when their work at the handloom became unprofitable.

Since very old times the Balahis hold the office of village watchmen and servants of the petty revenue and police officials touring in the district. Besides the Balahis, only a few Bhils and Nahals, very seldom Gonds or Kor-kus, are employed in the same manner, a fact which proves that the Balahis really belong to the oldest inhabitants of the country, as they claim. For a village watchman's duty is, besides looking for order in the village and reporting everything of importance, to know the field boundaries and to remove dead cattle from the village. That the Balahi is supposed to know the village and field boundaries, proves his long stay in the country; his task, to remove dead cattle, could only be imposed on him, because he is allowed to touch (and to eat) beef. If we admit that the Balahis are relatively the oldest inhabitants of the country and beef-eaters, they cannot belong to any of the Aryan Hindu castes. It is improbable that they belong, racially, to any of the totemistic aboriginal tribes, because of their occupation as agricultural labourers and weavers, which presupposes a certain amount of cultural and agricultural development, not to be found among the totemistic tribes of the country. Thus the obvious conclusion is that the Balahis belong to one of the oldest strata of Indian races, probably of matriarchal character which, while living in close and continual connection with Hindus and totemistic hill-tribes, have adopted to a large degree elements of both these racial groups.

7.—A COMPARISON OF THE BALAHIS WITH THE PARAYAN.

If the conclusion holds good that the Balahis belong to one of the old matriarchal races in India, a comparison with one of the typically matriarchal castes of India must be possible and very fruitful. For this comparison the Parayan of South-India have been selected, because they form one of the "model castes" of mother-right⁴⁴ in India, and because they live in similar social and economical conditions and surroundings as the Balahis. All the quotations concerning the Parayan are taken from O. R. EHRENFELS,⁴⁵ whose short description of the Parayan is based on Edgar THURSTON and K. RANGACHARI : *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras 1909; H. V. NANJUNDAYYA and L. K. Anantha Krishna IYER : *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, Mysore 1928-33 & 35; A. C. CLAYTON : *Madras Government Museum Bulletin*, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 67 seq. etc.

O. R. EHRENFELS writes :

"An attempt to define the Paraya race does not seem very promising, as their long contact with highly progressive civilizations, be it as rulers, be

44. EHRENFELS : *op. cit.* p. 36.

45. *Mother-right in India*, pp. 52-58.

it as serfs, their great number and the wide territory they inhabit in southern India and beyond the South, have propagated race-mixture too much to allow any general characterization, valuable for all the different Paraya groups. Nor is any particular Dravidic language, or any one of the south Indian districts peculiar to this caste. Though they are now scattered as labourers and serfs all over the country, they still preserve a tradition according to which they have not only been, like the Pulayan, sons of the soil, but also had the function of a sort of Elder Brahmins in this part of the country. There is much in favour of this tradition. Their great number, alone, of over two millions, to which some hundred thousand Christian Parayas may further be added, supports such a hypothesis; all the more so, as the present lords of the Parayan, the Nayars and Brahmins, are far fewer in number and consider themselves descendants of immigrants arriving later. Moreover the knowledge of the Paraya population concerning the village boundaries and forgotten landmarks, and of the soil and landed property generally, is respected by the whole village, so that they are often asked as witnesses in quarrels over such matters."

By changing the locality and the castes, the identical statement could be made of the Balahis: They are racially mixed, because many outcasted members of other, higher, castes have found admission into the Balahi caste, as their clan-registers prove; many Rajputs, but also Brahmans, Kunbis, Kachis, etc. have become Balahis.—The Balahis do not speak any language, peculiar to them, but the dialect of the country they live in.—They are scattered as labourers and serfs all over the country, of Central India, the Central Provinces and Berar.—As the only representatives of the Mother-Earth-cult, they act as the priests of the country, are respected as such and even exempted from their untouchability during their pilgrimage.⁴⁶ The village watchman is almost always a Balahi, because the Balahis are supposed to know best the village boundaries and landmarks and to give exact information in any doubt or quarrel concerning field boundaries.

Like the Parayan of old, the Balahis are still weavers and produce the coarse country cloth, worn by poor or conservative farmers of the country.

"Parayan dwellings often comprise several houses and a court-yard. Ornaments on the verandah are often of a symmetrical design, like those of caste-Hindus, and adoptions even of Brahmins into the Paraya caste occur."—The Balahis of the Nimar have, with the reception of many high-caste Hindus, also adopted to a large extent their customs. Also the Balahis like to ornament their houses and often several families, related to each other, share one common courtyard surrounded by a high wall of mud.

"Inheritance among the Parayan is partly traced through the female line." But EHRENFELS adds that "this might of course have been taken over from the matriarchally organized land-owners." The Balahis inherit in the

46. S. FUCHS: The Mother-Earth-cult of the Nimar Balahis, *Anthropos* XXXVI, 1941.

male line, but as EHRENFELS is not sure, whether the matrilineal inheritance of the Parayan is original or not, this point of divergence does not amount to much.

"The marriage [of the Parayan] is patrilocal; yet a matriarchal survival may be found to exist in the custom of a young mother's return to her parents' house in the seventh month of pregnancy for the birth of her first child."—The marriage of a Balahi takes place in the village of the bride, though the married wife later on has to live in her husband's village. The young women often return to their parents during the first years of married life, and not seldom before the birth of the first child.

"The remnants of the bride-price, too, make it probable that a very old form of mother-right was extant in southern India, long before the Nayars brought their exceedingly advanced matriarchal civilization."—The Balahis up to the present still demand a bride-price, which is relatively high for a widow or a divorced woman.

"The maternal uncle must agree to a proposed marriage, it is he who holds the young bride in his arms, during the marriage ceremonies."—Among the Balahis the maternal uncle does not play any distinguished role. This, however, must have been otherwise in former time, as the custom of addressing highly respectable men as "maternal uncle" shows.

"The mother, not the father, fixes the exact date when the real matrimonial life of the young couple is to begin." Among the Balahis it is, naturally, the mother who notices first the first menstruation of her daughter. After that the parents of her husband are informed and called to fetch her.

"A young couple may live together without any ceremony. Their children are considered legitimate. But if these come of age and start matrimonial life, the parents celebrate a sort of what we should call "silver wedding."—This custom may be recognised in the ceremony, similar to the marriage rites, which is performed after the birth of the first child.

"Polyandry existed till the beginning of the twentieth century, but has died out."—There are traces of polyandry in the family life of the Balahis, among whom a younger brother is allowed to beat the wife of his elder brother, to be alone with her in the house and on the field etc. Intimate relations between a woman and her younger brothers-in-law are said to occur, but such intimacy is forbidden according to the Balahi moral code. Like the Parayan, the Balahis consider secret conjugal relations of a girl before marriage a crime, and punish adultery, but only if the case is brought before the caste council or when the scandal becomes public.

"Remarriage of widows is permitted, but none of the deceased husband's brothers must be married by the widow." The same law exists among the Balahis who do not allow the widow to marry any man of even her former husband's clan. EHRENFELS thinks that this "negative leviratic marriage, so to speak" may be "due to the abhorrence of the former rule of fraternal polyandry, which is so great, that even the marriage of a widow to the person who was formerly her second polyandric husband, was later altogether pro-

hibited." This is, however, scarcely the reason for the prohibition of the leviratic marriage, because the same custom exists among the Balahis who live in a country where the leviratic marriage as well as a sort of polyandry (among Gujars, etc.) is still widely practised. The Balahis have another explanation: They say that by her marriage the woman became a member of her husband's clan. The law of exogamy demands therefore that a widow or a divorced woman must marry into a clan other than her husband's or her parents' clan. If she survives or divorces four husbands or more, she may not marry any man of these four or more clans.

A girl's first menstruation is celebrated among the Parayan with a certain amount of display. After seven days of seclusion the girl must bathe in oil and water. The Balahis too insist on the strict seclusion of a girl during her first menstruation. After three to four days, she takes a bath and changes her clothes with some solemnity.

"After birth, the mother is considered polluted during one week, at the end of which the ritual oil and water bath takes place."—A Balahi mother is considered unclean for three to four weeks after child-birth, the period of pollution is ended by a ceremonial bath.

While the Parayan husband has to observe certain restrictions during the first week after his wife's delivery, the Balahi husband is not restricted in any way.

In the Parayan religion three categories of "divine mothers" are of great importance. Also the Balahis show a distinct preference for female deities, in the cult of the Mother-Earth, of the clan-Goddess, and the Matas of contagious diseases.

"Spirits, ghosts and goblins . . . also play an important role. Ancestor-worship is practised in the form of sacrifices before burning lights and application in praying posture." The Balahis too firmly believe in and greatly fear, spirits, ghosts and goblins. The ancestors are worshipped on the day after Diwali, the clan gods in the form of sacrifices before burning lights, wheat cakes, etc.

"Rain-making seems to be specially practised among the Telugu Paraya, the Malas, who, for this purpose use a frog, over which they pour water with various ceremonies."—Also the Balahis know various rites for calling the rains, among which one is conspicuous: The girls make frogs of clay and under singing pour water over the images.

"The Velluvan or dasaris, exorcists and priests of the Mala have a great influence, even on the Brahmins of the country, though their position is not hereditary but merely depends on their real power to cure hysterical diseases, to "exorcise devils, appease demons" and the like. The same holds good for the Balahi exorcists and sorcerers who are held in high esteem and are called frequently to cure diseases and to exorcise devils. Their office is not hereditary but depends on their "magic power." These men are consulted by members of all castes, if they only enjoy a reputation of efficiency.

EHRENFELS believes that "the decapitation sacrifice, as practised by the Parayan, again points to some relation with the North-East group of Indian mother-right," but it is equally common among the Nimar Balahis.

"Still more significant for a relatively far advanced (and again decayed) civilization, is the Oti cult a sort of black magic, which may recall the human sacrifice, as dedicated to U Thlen among the Khasis".—This cult has its parallel in the Kaṭi Mata and Dhaj Mata cults of the Balahis with former human sacrifices and a specially selected group of worshippers.

"Bodies are buried, not burnt, and again the nephew or the son may be the chief mourner." Also the Balahis bury their dead, the son or nephew acting as the chief mourner, even if the parents (or husband) of the deceased are alive.

So many common points in the ethnography of these two castes, geographically so distant, cannot be explained as accidental. Some sort of old relationship must be taken for granted. Great differences may exist, but they can easily be explained by long separation, independent development and different history and surroundings.

In regard to the names of the two castes the similarity is striking; both caste names contain the same basic consonants and even the same vocals:

Ba — la — hi

Pa — ra — y — a

ba-pa; *la-ra*; *i-y* proves the basic identity of the two names, the *h* before the *i* in *Balahi* is of no consequence and often dropped in speech.

CONCLUSION.

There is no doubt that the Balahi ethnography shows a high degree of intermixture of different, partly diverging cultural elements. But the attempt of proving that the original and specific Balahi elements show definite and outspoken matriarchal features, must be considered as accomplished. It has been shown that in clan organisation and inheritance there are at least matriarchal traces, that the birth and initiation rites, the marriage ceremonies, the funeral rites and the religion of the Balahis emphasise the matriarchal features of the adopted Hinduism and show distinct mother-right characteristics, wherever the original Balahi culture has been retained and preserved. The comparison of the Balahis with the Parayan caste, which may be called a "model" caste of mother-right culture, completes the description of a basically and originally matriarchal race, which in spite of adopting so many different cultural forms has still retained its matriarchal character to a large extent. It may well be that a more exact and detailed study of the many low castes of Central India will prove still more the "dominating and central position of Mother-right in India."

MISCELLANY

THE PRĀRABDHADHVĀNTASAMHRTIḤ OF ACYUTAŚĀRMA MODAK

There is a paper manuscript deposited at the Government Oriental Library, Mysore, bearing the shelf-number B. 223. It is written in Kannada characters, and contains forty quarter-sheet pages. It is very corrupt and each page teems with scribal errors. At its beginning the Ms. bears the name *Prārabdhadhvānta-vidhvaṁsanam*, but in the colophon at the end it is styled *Prārabdhadhvānta-samhṛtiḥ*. The author is one ACYUTAŚĀRMA MODAK and from the colophon of the work which runs as follows :—

“ इति शाके शशिवेदाश्वभूमिते इहायने प्रमथ्याख्ये । अस्मिन्सितललितः प्रपन्नम्यां पञ्चवटि-
कायां । आसीत् श्रीगुरुकृपया प्रारब्धध्वान्तसंहतिः पूर्णा । अनया तुल्यतु भगवान् श्रीमद्रघुवीरसङ्करः
स्वात्मा । श्रीमन्नारायणगुरुन् श्रीमहादेवदेशिकान् । श्रीमद्रघून्माचार्यान् प्रणमामि मुहुर्मुहुः ॥
इति श्रीमत्पदवाक्यप्रमाणक्षीरार्णवविहरण श्रीमदद्वैतविद्येन्द्रारमण श्रीमन्नारायणशास्त्रिचरणारविन्दद्वन्द्व-
मिलिन्दिनाथमानमानसस्य मोडकोपाह्वयस्य अच्युतशर्मणः कृतौ प्रारब्धध्वान्तसंहतिः संपूर्णा ॥ ”

we learn that the author had three teachers—*Nārāyaṇaguru*, *Mahādeva Deśika*, and *Raghūttamācārya*, and that he wrote his work at Pañcavaṭi in the year 1741 of the Śālivāhana Śaka (1819 A.D.). In the body of the work, the author mentions two other works of his—the *Purnānandendukaumudī*, a commentary on the *Jīvan-muktiviveka* of Vidyāranya, and the *Advaitajalajāta*. This is all the information that the *Prārabdhadhvāntasamhṛtiḥ* is able to give about its author.

In the Adyar Library, Madras, there is a paper Ms. entitled the *Mahāvākyaṛthamañjarī*, consisting of 8 pages and written in the Devanagari script. A comparison of the colophon of the *Prārabdhadhvāntasamhṛtiḥ* with the colophon of this work which runs as follows :—

“ इति श्रीमत्पदवाक्यप्रमाणक्षीरार्णवविहरण श्रीमदद्वैतविद्येन्द्रारमण श्रीमन्नारायणशास्त्रिचरणार-
णजिनालीना यितमानसेन मोडकोपाह्वयेन अच्युतशर्मणा विरचिता महावाक्यार्थमञ्जरीयं ।

शाकेऽस्मिन्मुनिवेदाज्यमृतभेः श्रीपार्थिवान्दे मधौ शुक्रायां प्रतिपद्यभूदिति कृतिः श्रीमञ्जरी
नामिका । पूर्णा पञ्चवटीपुरे गुरुवरश्रीपादपद्माणभिः पूर्णा चापि तनोतु सर्वरसिकान् पूर्णापि
चामोदतः ॥ ”

makes it quite clear that the two works are of the same author ; only, of the two, the *Prārabdhadhvāntasamhṛtiḥ* seems to be the earlier written in 1819 A.D., and the *Mahāvākyaṛthamañjarī*, the later, written in 1825 A.D. An almost identical colophon is found at the end of the *Sāhityasāra* of Acyutarāya, published by the Nirnayasagar Press in 1906, and at the end of the *Bhagīrathī campū* published by the same Press, so that we can infer that these two works also belong to our author.

Of the works mentioned above, the earliest philosophical work of the author is the *Prārabdhadhvāntasamhṛtiḥ*, and the Government Oriental Library, Mysore seems to be sole possessor of it. I have not so far come across any other Ms. of the work. It is not mentioned in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* of AUFRECHT. The chief importance of the work consists in the entirely new interpretation it gives to the theory of Karma. There are few theories in the world which have been as grossly misunderstood and which have been as tragically misinterpreted as the

theory of Karma. The aim of the present work is to correct this misconception and thereby point out that the theory of Karma, so far from being an impediment to human freedom, is the truest champion of it.

The author holds that the existing theory of Karma (*Prārabdhavāda*) which holds that man's past deeds (*Prārabdha*) have control over all his present activities on earth, is not merely unauthoritative but is also thoroughly unfounded.¹ It proceeds only from a misunderstanding or lack of knowledge of the text which expounds the theory.

There are three factors² which bring happiness or misery to a man. His past Karma which has begun to operate (*Prārabdhakarma*) determines the kind of birth, the length of life and the variety of experience of the individual;³ the kind of birth may be brahmin etc., if the deeds are a mixture of virtue and vice, low birth if they are purely vicious, and a godly birth if the deeds are purely virtuous; the duration of life (*āyuh*) may be one hundred years and so on; the experience (*bhoga*) may, as is well-known, be pleasure or pain, originating respectively from favourable and unfavourable circumstances.⁴

It is thus seen that a man's *Prārabdhakarma* brings him happiness or misery in accordance with his deeds in his previous life or lives. It is also true that the happiness or misery of a man is sometimes due to his sub-conscious impressions (*Samskāra*). Besides these too, there is also a third cause which brings about man's happiness or misery. It is his own will or effort (*Prayatna*).

The pleasure that the individual enjoys when in meditation is that due to his *Prārabdhakarma*; the bliss that he experiences when in deep sleep, comes from his sub-conscious impressions (*Samskāra*); and the joy of the man, on seeing that the *Kāriṇi* he performed has been immediately followed by a shower of rain, proceeds, doubtless, from his own effort (*Prayatna*).⁵ It would be an error, says the author, to imagine that all happiness proceeds only from a man's *Prārabdhakarma*, that, like the bliss-in-meditation, sleep is the result of his past deeds, that sacrifices like the *Kāriṇi* only serve to remove the obstacle in the way of the shower of rain, and that it is *Prārabdhakarma* alone that is actually responsible in bringing out the desired shower of rain⁶. It is necessary for us to remember in this connection, that it is only the individual Soul (*Jivopādhi*) that is bound to obey the dictates of the *Prārabdhakarma*, which determines to some extent its experience ('*Prārabdhabhoga*' *pi jivopādhikacaitanyasya vākavyah*').⁷ And from what we learn from the *Anubhūtiprakāśa* of Vidyāranya, we know that there is no delimiting adjunct to the supreme-soul in the state of deep-sleep. There we see the couplet :⁸

1. निषेकक्षणमारभ्य देहपातक्षणान्तं यावद्वयवहारः प्रारब्धैककरणकः इति दृढतमनिश्चितिरूपो यः प्रारब्धवादः तस्य तु प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तियोतिसकलश्रुतिस्मृत्यादि विरोधित्वं ।

—*Prārabdhadvāntasamhitā*, p. 1.

2. प्रारब्धकरणकः संस्कारकरणकः प्रयत्नकरणकश्चापि निरुक्तव्यवहारः— *Ibid.*, p. 4.

3. प्रारब्धं नाम देहपाताव्यवहितोत्तरक्षणे परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वाणि सञ्चितपुण्यपापानि फलदानोन्मुखानि भवन्ति । तथापि तेषां मध्ये यद्वलवत्पुण्यं वा पापं वा भयं वा तद्भाविदेहमारभजात्यायुर्भोगदं प्रारब्धमित्युच्यते ॥ *loc. cit.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. समाधिमुखं प्रारब्धजं सुषुप्तिमुखं संस्कारजं वृष्ट्यादिसुखं कारीर्यादिप्रयत्नजमिति प्रत्यक्षमेव ॥—

—*Prārabdhadvāntasamhitā*, p. 11.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Anubhūtiprakāśa* by Vidyāranya, III, 15.

जीवोपाधिलये ऽप्यत्र तद्वीजस्यावशेषतः ।
तदुपाधिक एवासौ देहे अन्येषुः प्रबुध्यते ॥

which can be rendered thus :

“Though (he) is now rid of the Jīva-adjunct, the next morning he rises up in that body, only delimited by that adjunct, because its seed only persists to exist (from the previous night) ”.

It is also said that unrestrained desire, the sin from deeds and fear from the result of these deeds are all absent in the state of deep-sleep, wherein is only felt the state of non-duality⁹.

What necessarily follows from all this is, that, in deep-sleep, there is no influence of Karma (*Tāmasasuptau karmaphalābhāvah*).¹⁰ Consequently, it would be wrong to consider that the bliss one experiences in deep-sleep comes only from his *Prārabdhakarma*. Similarly, we must accept that the pleasure due to rain, which one derives after the performance of sacrifices like the *Kārinī*, is only due to his individual effort (*Prayatna*), and that it would be unjust to impute it to the influence of his past deeds.¹¹

In support of his statement that human experience is dependent on a three-fold cause, the author cites a statement in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, and its exposition by Vidyāraṇya. The Śruti *Ihaivāgne tam vidyākarmaṇi samānvārabhete, pūrvaprajñā ca*¹² says that, at death the soul of man is accompanied by his *Vidyā* (Knowledge), *Karma* (Deeds), and *Pūrvaprajñā* (Reminiscences of the past). From the above statement we are to understand that, when a man dies, his soul does not go alone, but that it carries with it its knowledge, its deeds, and its previous reminiscences. *Śaṅkara* likens the soul to a loaded cart which makes a good deal of noise as it moves, and the food for the consumption of this soul-cart consists, according to him, of knowledge, deeds, and reminiscences of the past.¹³

By ‘knowledge’, we are to understand¹⁴ a man’s knowledge of his deeds in his previous life ; and this knowledge may either be true (*Pramā*), false (*Bhrama*), or dubious (*Samśaya*).

The ‘deeds’ mean those bodily deeds of the man which are either meritorious or vicious.¹⁵

The ‘Reminiscences of the past’ (*Pūrvaprajñā*), also called *Vāsanā*, consists of impressions of deeds whose fruits have either been stored up or enjoyed.¹⁶

It is therefore this triad (corresponding to *Prārabdha* and *Samśkṛta* in the previous classification) which follows a man from his previous life, that is capable

9. छन्दः कामः कर्मपापं भयं स्यात्कर्मणः फलं ।

अनर्थरूपत्रितयमद्वैते वीक्ष्यते नहि ॥

—*Bṛhadāraṇyakavārtikasāra*, IV, 3, 265.—pp. 844-45 (Benares Edn.)

10. *Prārabdhadhvāntasamhitā*, p. 12.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

12. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, IV, 4, 2.

13. ŚAṅKARA’S commentary on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV, 4, 2 (p. 606 Vanivilas Press Edn.).

14. विशाशब्देनात्र त्रिविधं भ्रमप्रमासंशयात्मकं ज्ञानं —*Prārabdhadhvāntasamhitā*, p. 13 ; cp. *Bṛhadāraṇyakavārtikasāra*, IV, 4, 40.

15. तथा कर्म कायादिसंपादितं पुण्यपापाख्यं —*Ibid.*, cp. *Bṛhadāraṇyakavārtikasāra*, IV, 4, 41.

16. पूर्वप्रापपरपर्यायावासानां तु प्राक्सञ्चितभुक्तफलाख्यकर्मणोः संस्कार एव—

—*Ibid.* ; cp. *Bṛhadāraṇyakavārtikasāra* IV, 4, 42.

of determining to a certain extent, his happiness or misery.¹⁷ There is also besides, the man's individual volition (*Prayatna*) which can bring him happiness or misery. Granted that sacrifices like the *Kūrī* serve only to remove obstacles which impede rainfall, but even then the efficacy of human effort cannot be denied. The reason is not far to seek. It is easy for us to see that, at least in removing the obstacle, the individual effort of man has not been put in vain.¹⁸

It may be doubted whether it can ever be possible to counteract the influence of one's *Prārabdhakarma* and *Vāsanā*. Our author says it is possible and cites *in extenso* a good number of verses¹⁹ from the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* to support his statement. We find in that work Vasiṣṭha preach to Rama on the supreme power of human effort (*Pauruṣa* or *Prayatna*) which makes it prevail even over *Prārabdha* (the previous deeds of man which have begun to operate in having brought out the body).

The verses cited from the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* assert that human effort (*Pauruṣa*), which has been enjoined by the scriptures is overwhelmingly superior to *Prārabdha*, that it is able to transcend its influence, and that it helps the individual not merely to put forth his necessary endeavour to fight Destiny (i.e., the sum total of his deeds),²⁰ but also to take up to the required practices which are necessary to bring him final Beatitude.

It is thus clear that man's actions in this world are controlled by three factors, his *Prārabdhakarma*, his *Samskāras* (Sub-conscious impressions), and last by his *Prayatna* (Volition). It may be that, to a great extent, man's happiness or misery proceeds from the first two causes. But the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* would have us remember in this connection that it would be wrong to think that those two are the only causes and that their power over man is unassailable. It points out that there is still another cause on which man's experience in this world, is, to a certain extent, dependant, and that this his own individual effort (*Prayatna*). Of the three causes, this last is the most powerful, and has the capacity to withstand the influence of the other two. The *Prārabdhakarma* and the *Samskāras* may induce the individual to do certain things, but his *Prayatna* allows him to resist their influence.

We thus see that, though a man's *Prārabdhakarma* and *Samskāras* may induce him to do some things, they cannot compel him to do anything. It is for him either to resist the influence of Karma or to succumb to it. And if he should not use the power that is vested in him, nobody is to blame. He cannot condemn his Karma for, while it induced him, it never compelled him, and he was at full liberty to direct himself as he liked. The Karma theory is therefore, neither pessimistic nor fatalistic. Nor does it teach Pre-determinism. All that we are to understand by it is that, of the three factors that guide man's destiny in this world, his *Prārabdhakarma* (i.e., his deeds in his previous lives) is one of the most important.²¹

Adyar Library,
Madras.

H. G. NARAHARI

17. *Prārabdhadhvāntasamhṛtiḥ*, p. 16.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

19. *Yogavāsiṣṭha*—II. 4 (8-19); II. 5. [(4-21), (28-31)]; II. 6. [(1-6), (23-25), 29, 30, 32; (34-36), 38, 42; II. 7. (2, 3, 12, 14, 17, 19, 32); II. 8. (6, 20); II. 9. (22-27), (30-33), (40-42).

20. प्राक् स्वकर्मैतराकारं देवं नाम न विद्यते —*Yogavāsiṣṭha*, II. 6, 4.

21. Cf. my paper, *The Message of the Theory of Karma in the Aryan Path*, Vol. XI, 603 ff.

REVIEW

The Development of Hindu Iconography, by JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA, M.A., PH. D ; Published by the University of Calcutta, 1941 ; Pp. xvi+459 with 10 Plates ; Size 6¼"×9½".

The present volume is a thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of Calcutta. In spite of many standard works on Indian Iconography based on the textual and sculptural material no attempt seems to have been systematically made to trace the development of the individual iconographic types. In the present volume Dr. BANERJEA not only gives us a critical study of the extant reliefs and sculptures of the Gupta, Kṛṣṇan and pre-Kuṣṇan periods but handles carefully and systematically the numismatic and glyptic remains of these periods. This appears to us a new approach to the subject and we endorse fully Dr. BANERJEA's statement that "when earlier types of gods and goddesses are not available, ancient Indian coin and seal devices help us remarkably in determining the mode of their representation in the remote past". Besides the first-hand study of archaeological material presented in the thesis Dr. BANERJEA has brought together many new texts, which have not yet been fully noticed. The volume is thus complete in itself and the author promises us two more volumes dealing with the Hindu cult images and their accessories. Judging by the present achievement of the author the two promised volumes are likely to be as substantial in their contents and as cautious in their presentation as the volume now published.

The volume is divided into eight chapters. I—*Study of Hindu Iconography* ; II—*The Antiquity of Image-worship in India* ; III—*The Origin and Development of Image-worship in India* ; IV—*Brahmanical Divinities and their Emblems on early Indian Coins* ; V—*Deities and their Emblems on early Indian Seals* ; VI—*Iconoplastic Art in India—Factors Contributing to its Development* ; VII—*Iconographic Terminology* ; VIII—*Canons of Iconometry*. Besides these contents Dr. BANERJEA gives us four Appendices, one General Index and ten Plates, which give us a pictorial idea of the development of Hindu Iconography. Every chapter begins with a brief abstract of its contents, which helps the reader to understand the chapter as a whole and the interrelation of the topics dealt with.

Speaking of the divinities of the Indus Valley Dr. BANERJEA cautiously observes that they cannot be described as so many Hindu divinities but it can be suggested that they contributed a great deal towards the formation of the concepts underlying some of the later Hindu gods. He also criticizes T. A. G. RAO's view that "the rules arrived at by the Indian artist (regarding making of images) do not appear to be divergent from those evolved by European artists" but states that these rules became stereotyped in course of time and their adoption by Indian artists led to the gradual decadence of iconoplastic art. The comparison of the Indian canons of iconometry with those followed by the Egyptian and the Hellenistic artists of ancient times is both interesting and instructive.

The need for a constructive survey of iconographic material which we have been feeling of late has been ably fulfilled by the studies of Dr. BANERJEA as heralded by the present volume which is replete with data marshalled in a scientific manner and we feel no doubt that this groundwork of iconography when completed in three volumes will stimulate further scientific research in the field now full of scattered data variously interpreted by scholars and laymen alike.

P. K. GODE

NOTES OF THE MONTH

The Ninth Annual Report of the Islamic Research Association, Bombay, for the year 1941 shows steady progress in its work devoted to the promotion of Islamic Research. Like many other learned bodies in the country this Association has been carrying on its work in a disinterested manner, as research knows no barriers of caste or creed, race or religion. The Association does not enter into any propaganda or controversy, religious or political and its membership is open to every person, regardless of sex, religion or nationality. These features will no doubt engender a spirit of brotherhood among scholars interested in the different branches of Islamic studies in India and outside. The Koranic motto "*To those who think*" adopted by the Association truly reflects the noble outlook of its founders and other scholars who have been working under its auspices. His Highness the Aga Khan is the Patron of the Association. Its President Ali Mahomed Mecklai, J.P., and the present Secretary Principal A. A. A. Fyzee have been working zealously for the furtherance of scientific and critical research in all branches of Islamic studies. The Association has already started its *Islamic Research Association Series*, in which seven different works have already been published between 1933 and 1939. A few more works are in preparation. The membership of the Association in steadily increasing and now stands at 138. Prof. D. S. Margoliouth, the Arabist of international repute took keen interest in the work of the Association, for whom he was editing the *Chronicle of Yunni* in the Arabic original. Unfortunately he died in March 1940! In 1940 the President of the Association offered a prize of Rs. 500 for the preparation of a comprehensive Index to the *Qur'ān*. Prof. A. Jeffrey of the Columbia University has expressed his intention to prepare this Index. Besides the publication work the Association has been holding occasional meetings for discussing administrative and academic matters. It will be seen from all the activities of this learned body that its field of work is steadily widening and admits of greater expansion in the years to come. Perhaps a Quarterly Journal, if started by the Association at the present stage of its career, would prove highly beneficial to its further growth. It will be a good means for the contact of the Association not only with its own Members but with the world of scholars outside, whose sympathy and support are necessary for the growth of a learned body like the Association, working in a dispassionate manner for the promotion of independent inquiry pertaining to the different branches of Islamic studies. We wish Principal Fyzee and his collaborators all success in their academic projects on behalf of this Association.

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THE CONCEPTION OF GUṆA AMONG THE VAIYYĀKARANAS

By

K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER, Lucknow.

To put some order into the bewildering mass of forms which exist in any language is the most important function of Grammar. Facts have to be arranged and classified and, where possible, they must be brought under some general notions. Language is the creation of man and must, therefore, exhibit the characteristics of the human mind. While there is always room for the unexpected and the incomprehensible in the workings of the human mind, it cannot be doubted that they are governed by general notions. Language creates forms for the expression of notions, and a study of these notions has always been an important part of all grammatical studies. But these notions are studied with a definite end in view, and that end is the explanation of the forms. To study these notions for their own sake or to pursue their study beyond the point required for the explanation of forms would result in Philosophy, and modern Grammarians, at least, are rather anxious not to appear as discussing Philosophy when they are discussing grammatical problems. But general problems have a habit of cropping up persistently, even though an answer may not be required for explaining the forms of a particular language. Thus, a new branch of study called Linguistics takes shape within language studies, a branch in which only general problems are discussed while grammar proper confines itself to the explanation of forms.

In Ancient India, no such clear line of demarcation was made between general and particular problems, and discussions of general problems abound in grammatical literature. Here, as elsewhere, the way was shown by no less an author than Patañjali whose *Mahābhāṣya* raises all kinds of general problems and contains ideas throwing light, not only on the Sanskrit Language, but on language in general.

Among the general notions which crop up frequently in connection with the explanation of forms is that of 'Guṇa' with which is closely connected that of 'Dravya.' The word Guṇa occurs in many of the sūtras of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* but it is not merely in the course of the explanation of the implication of the word in these sūtras that Patañjali discusses the notion of 'Guṇa'. He does it elsewhere also. But he does not propose any definition of 'Guṇa' which will fit well into all the sūtras where the word 'Guṇa' occurs. In his *Bhāṣya* on the sūtra तस्य भावस्त्वतलौ¹ Patañjali points out that the word has

many meanings in the language.² In द्विगुणा रज्जुः, त्रिगुणा रज्जुः the word stands for an equal part. In गुणवानयं देशः it means 'द्रव्य' things like cattle and vegetation. In गुणभूता वयमत्र, it denotes that which is secondary or unimportant and it stands for good conduct in such sentences as गुणवानयं ब्राह्मणः and so on. These are popular meanings of the word and it is characteristic of the Science of Grammar that it does not despise popular notions but makes use of them for the explanation of forms, wherever possible. Thus, the meaning of Guṇa as an equal part is brought into service for explaining formations like द्विमयमुदञ्चित् which comes under the sūtra संख्याया गुणस्य निमाने मयद् (V. 2-47) where the word 'Guṇa' means equal part.

Sometimes, a more technical conception of 'guṇa' is found useful by Pāṇini in explaining grammatical forms. Such is the case in the sūtra बोतो गुणवचनात् (Pā. V. 1. 44). While explaining the sūtra, Patañjali gives two verses, one of which, he mentions, belongs to somebody else. They are as follows—

सत्त्वे निविशतेऽपैति पृथग् जातिषु दृश्यते ।
आधेयश्चाक्रियाजश्च सोऽसत्त्वप्रकृतिगुणः ॥

अपर आह ।

उपैत्यन्यज्जहात्यन्यदृष्टो द्रव्यान्तरेष्वपि ।
वाचकः सर्वलिङ्गानां द्रव्यादन्यो गुणः स्मृतः ॥

(Bhāṣya on Pā. V. 1.44).

There is a tradition which interprets these two verses as an explanation, not of the notion of 'guṇa' but of what is meant by the word 'guṇavacana'. Various grammatical operations are taught in connection with words expressive of 'guṇa' or 'guṇavacana', as they are called. For instance, the sūtra 'guṇavacanabrāhmaṇādibhyaḥ karmaṇi ca'³ teaches the suffix after a word which is 'guṇavacana'; the sūtra "बोतो गुणवचनात्"⁴ teaches the suffix 'ढीप्' after a word which is guṇavacana. The intention of these two verses, according to some, is to tell which words in the Sanskrit language are 'guṇavacana' and which are not. In fact, Patañjali has already told us something about it in his commentary on the sūtra "आकङ्कारादेका संज्ञा"⁵. There he told us that a word which is not a samāsa nor a kṛdanta nor a 'taddhitānta' nor a sarvanāma nor a class-word nor a numeral nor an indeclinable nor a proper name is a 'guṇavacana'. This is rather a negative statement and

2. अस्त्येव समेष्ववयवेषु वर्तते। तद्यथा। द्विगुणा रज्जुः त्रिगुणा रज्जुः इति। अस्ति द्रव्य-पदार्थकः। तद्यथा। गुणवानयं देश इत्युच्यते यस्मिन् गावः सस्यानि च वर्तन्ते। अस्त्यप्राधान्ये वर्तते। तद्यथा। यो यत्राप्रधानं भवति स आह गुणभूता वयमत्रेति। अस्त्याचारे वर्तते। तद्यथा। गुणवानयं ब्राह्मण इत्युच्यते यः सम्यगाचारं करोति। अस्ति संस्कारे वर्तते। तद्यथा। संस्कृतमत्रं गुणवदित्युच्यते।

Bhāṣya on Pā. V. I. 119.

3. Pā. V. I. 124.

4. Pā. IV. 1. 44.

5. Pā. I. 4. 1.

it is held by some that the two verses under consideration are meant to make amends for this negative statement and to say what a 'guṇavacana' word is instead of saying what it is not. According to these verses, they point out, a word is a 'guṇavacana' if it can be sometimes applied to a thing and sometimes not, even though, as a thing it is still there and is the same. The word 'rakta' is applied to an object as long as it remains red but not when it changes colour, even though, as an object, it may still be the same. So 'rakta' is a 'guṇavacana'. The word 'āmra' cannot thus be applied or not applied to an object according to circumstances. Either it is always applied or not applied at all. So it is not a 'guṇavacana' word.⁶ A proper name like 'Dittha' is in the same position. All this is conveyed by the words "सत्त्वे निविशतेऽपैति" in the first verse. Another characteristic of a 'guṇavacana' word conveyed by the expression "पृथग् जातिषु दृश्यते" is that it may have a restricted application. Though the colour white is the same, it is called श्वेत when found in a cow and कर्क when found in a horse. These two words श्वेत and कर्क have thus a restricted application. Hence they are called 'guṇavacana' words.⁷ The word आधेय applied to such words indicates that they denote what is due to effort (यत्नाधेयार्थक). The red colour of a thing may have been caused by special effort and that is why the word 'rakta' is a 'guṇavacana' word. The number of a thing is not supposed to be an attribute brought about by special effort and that is why a numeral which conveys number is not a 'guṇavacana'. The same argument would exclude class words also from the scope of 'guṇavacana' words.⁸ Such words denote jāti or universal which cannot be brought by effort. The epithets अक्रियाजः and असत्त्वप्रकृतिः mean that a 'guṇavacana' word should not be formed out of a root or out of a noun.⁹ This is a rather formal characteristic and does not tell us what 'guṇa' is. But the epithets mentioned before, namely, सत्त्वे निविशतेऽपैति पृथग् जातिषु वर्तते and आधेय, though meant to describe a kind of word according to this interpretation, still do tell us indirectly something about 'guṇa'. Guṇa is something which can be brought about by effort and which is liable to change.

6. न हि संज्ञाजातिशब्दा द्रव्ये विद्यमान एव रक्तादिशब्दवत् कदाचिद्वाचकत्वेन प्रवर्तन्ते कदाचिन्नेति भवति । Udyōta on Prāṇa IV. 1. 44.

7. समाने रक्ते वर्णे गौलोहित इति भवति, अश्वः शोण इति । समाने च काले वर्णे गौः कृष्ण इति भवति अश्वो हेम इति, समाने च शुक्ले वर्णे गौः श्वेत इति भवति अश्वः कर्क इति ।

Bhāṣya on Pā. II. 2. 29

यथा शुक्लादयः शब्दाः । समाने शुक्ले गवि शुक्लशब्दोऽप्येव च कर्कशब्दो नैवं सर्वनामशब्दा नियतविषयाः । Udyōta on Pā. IV. 1. 44.

8. आधेय इत्यनेन संख्याशब्दनिरासः । न हि स रक्तादिगुणशब्दवद् द्रव्ये विद्यमाने यत्नाधेयो यत्नाधेयार्थक इत्यर्थः । अनेन जातिवत्त्वान्निरासः । (Udyōta on Pā. IV. 1. 44).

9. अक्रियाज इत्यस्य क्रियाप्रतिपादकधात्वजन्य इत्यर्थः । असत्त्वप्रकृतिरित्यनेन सत्त्ववाचकप्रकृतिकभिन्नार्थकेन समस्ततद्धितान्तयोर्निरासः । Prāṇapodyōta on IV. 1. 44.

This conception of 'guṇa' is not a particularly significant one. We must, therefore, now consider an older tradition recorded in the *Kāśikā*¹⁰, in Helārāja's commentary on the *Vākyapadīyam*¹¹ and in the *Pradīpa* of Kaiyyaṭa¹² according to which the verse सत्त्वे निविशतेऽपैति is a description, not of a particular kind of word but of a notion, the notion of 'guṇa.' In the *Bhāṣya* the verse is given as an answer to the question : को गुणो नाम.¹³ As Kaiyyaṭa explains it, it gives the following characteristics of 'guṇa'. 'Guṇa' is something which is found in things or substances and which can cease to be there (सत्त्वे निविशतेऽपैति). The same 'guṇa' may be found in different kinds of things or substances (वृथग् जातिषु वर्तते). The jāti or the universal cannot be found in different kinds of things, it can only be found in different things or individuals of the same kind nor does it leave a thing as long as the thing lasts. It is sometimes an effect as the colour of a jar and sometimes not so, as the magnitude of ākāśa (आधेयश्चाक्रियाजश्च). Action or movement is always an effect. So movement cannot be a 'guṇa.' The whole, as distinct from its parts, is a thing or substance. It exists in its parts and when the conjunction of the parts is destroyed, the whole disappears also. It can also exist in different kinds of things; the jar is a whole, so is a piece of cloth. Thus the whole which is a substance seems to share the characteristics of 'guṇa' mentioned above and it is to exclude it from the sphere of 'guṇa' that the expression असत्त्वप्रकृतिः is included in the verse. It means that which is not in the nature of a substance. Thus Kaiyyaṭa's explanation of the verse makes 'guṇa' something which is not substance nor universal nor movement but which exists in substances or things and may disappear from them.¹⁴ Now this is really nothing more than the Vaiśeṣika definition of 'guṇa' because it all amounts to this : जातिभिन्नत्वे सति क्रियाभिन्नत्वे सति द्रव्यभिन्नत्वे सति समवेतत्वं गुणत्वं । In fact Helārāja says openly that this verse contains the * Vaiśeṣika definition.¹⁵

10. *Kāśikā* on Pā. IV. 1. 44.

11. Helārāja on *Vākyapadīyam* III. p. 147.

12. *Pradīpa* on *Bhāṣya* IV. 1. 44.

13. *Bhāṣya* on Pā. IV. 1. 44.

14. द्रव्यमाश्रयते तत एव द्रव्याभिन्नते, भिन्नजातीयेषु दृश्यते यः स गुणः । एतेन जातेर्गुणत्वं निवारितम् । सा हि द्रव्ये निविशमाना द्रव्यं न कदाचिज्जहाति । न च भिन्नजातीयानि द्रव्याण्यभिनिविशते । ...आधेय इति । उत्पाद्यः । यथाकाशादेर्महत्वादिः । एवं तु द्रव्यस्यापि गुणत्वं प्राप्नोति । अवयविद्रव्यमवयवद्रव्येषु निविशते असमवायिकारणसंयोगनिवृत्तौ च विनाशास्ततोऽपैति भिन्नजातीयेषु च हस्तपादादिषु दृश्यते । द्विविधं च तन्नित्यानित्यभेदेन । निरवयवस्य, द्रव्यस्यात्म-परमात्मादेर्नित्यत्वादवयविद्रव्यस्यानित्यत्वात् । इत्याह असत्त्वप्रकृतिरिति । अद्रव्यस्वभाव इत्यर्थः ।

(*Pradīpa* on *Bhāṣya* on Pā. IV. 1. 44).

15. तस्मात्सत्त्वे निविशते इत्यादिलक्षणो गुणो गृह्यते । स च वैशेषिकशास्त्रप्रसिद्धः ।

Helārāja on *Vāk.* III. p. 188.

This Vaiśeṣika definition of 'guṇa' has been used by Pāṇini in explaining some formations. A preliminary distinction is made in the way this 'guṇa' is presented by words. Even when words denote 'guṇa' some present it as independent of the thing in which it exists, while others present it as existing in the thing. The words रूपा and गन्ध present qualities as independent of the thing in which they are found. When we hear these words, we do not think of the things in which these qualities are, we only think of the 'guṇas'. But in the expression शुक्ल गटः the word 'śukla' presents the quality whiteness as existing in a thing. The word does not mean whiteness but something which is white. In understanding some formations, for example, in understanding why we can have the compound चन्दनगन्धः, but cannot make a compound of ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्लः, we have to remember not only this Vaiśeṣika definition of 'guṇa' but also this difference in its presentation by words. The compound is possible because the word गन्ध always presents that 'guṇa' as independent of the thing in which it exists. This is what the Vārttikakāra calls a तत्स्थ गुण¹⁶. We can never say चन्दनं गन्धः; we can only say चन्दनस्य गन्धः just because the word 'गन्ध' always stands for the quality only, never for the quality as existing in a thing. The word शुक्ल is not in that position. It presents whiteness as existing in a thing. Such words are called 'guṇavacana', and it is after such words that the suffix द्वीप् is taught in the sūtra "बोतो गुणवचनात्" (Pā. IV. 1.44) or the elision of the suffix 'मनुप्' in the vārttika गुणवचनेभ्यो मनुपो लुक् (Vāk. on Pā. V. 2.94) or the suffix 'व्यञ्' in the sūtra गुणवचनबाह्यादिभ्यः कर्मणि च" (Pā. V. 1.124) or reduplication in the sūtra : "प्रकारे गुणवचनस्य" (Pā. VIII. 1.12). In explaining all these formations, the grammarians have made use of the Vaiśeṣika conception of 'guṇa'. There is nothing strange in this. The aim of the grammarian is a practical one, that of explaining forms and, if he can do so with the help of popular notions, or with the help of notions current in other branches of learning, there is no reason why he should not do so. As Helārāja puts it, सर्वपार्श्वे हीदं शास्त्रम् । (Vāk. III. p. 22). But this does not mean that Grammar does not evolve its own notions from its own point of view. That Vyākaraṇa has its own point of view is insisted upon by several writers. The Science of Grammar does not analyse reality and try to arrive at scientific notions concerning it. Its main purpose is to explain linguistic forms, and the ideas and conceptions which may be necessary to explain these forms may have to be derived from these forms themselves. Even if they are borrowed from the world or from other śāstras, they must be justified by the forms themselves which are available in the language. Pure logical notions and categories, arrived at by a scientific analysis of reality, are not admitted in the Science of Grammar, because they will bear no relation to the forms actually found in the language. No scientific defi-

16. तत्स्थेऽथ गुणे । Vārttika on Pā. II. 2, 8.

nition of 'लिङ्ग' in the sense of 'sex' is of any use in Grammar because it will not explain the phenomenon of 'लिङ्ग' in the sense of gender, which exists in many languages. Another conception of 'लिङ्ग', more in consonance with the facts of the Sanskrit language, must be arrived at. As Patañjali puts it : तस्मान्न वैय्याकरणैः शक्यं लौकिकं लिङ्गमास्थानुम् । अवश्यं कश्चित् स्वकृतान्त आस्थेयः ।¹⁷ And then he goes on to define 'लिङ्ग' in his own way. There are similar Vaiyyākaraṇa definitions of 'jāti', 'svāṅga' and other things, all arising out of the forms existing in the language and meant to explain them. Grammarians were very conscious of the fact that their notions were arrived at from another point of view, because they give open expression to this very frequently. Taking the statement of Patañjali, namely, "शब्दप्रमाणका वयं यच्छब्द आह तदस्माकं प्रमाणम्",¹⁸ as the basis, Helārāja is never tired of reminding us, that for grammarians, it is not logical and scientific notions that matter, but notions underlying linguistic forms. As he puts it on one occasion : इह व्याकरणे न वस्तुर्थोऽर्थः, अपि तु शब्दार्थोऽर्थः.¹⁹ On another occasion, he says शब्दप्रमाणकानां हि शब्द एव हि यथार्थमभिधत्ते, तथैव तस्याभिधानमुपपन्नम् । न तु वस्तुमुखप्रेक्षितया ।²⁰ The insistence on the fact that the eye of Vyākaraṇa is not turned towards reality (न वस्तुमुखप्रेक्षितया) but towards linguistic forms is significant because it makes clear the grammarian's point of view. It may be logical to say, as the Vaiśeṣikas do, that there cannot be a universal in a universal (निःसामान्यानि सामान्यानि) but words present the different universals as having a common attribute and that is the meaning of the word 'jāti'. For grammarians, then, there can be a universal in the different universals.²¹

In the same way, grammarians have a conception of 'guṇa' derived from the facts of language and meant to explain them. When we speak, we put ideas together, either in the form of words, or in the form of sentences, but the different ideas in the single word or the sentence do not have the same status in our speech. Language presents one of them as the main idea and the other idea or the ideas only serve to limit or determine it. Some are fundamental ideas or notions. Any idea can be fundamental idea and any idea can also be the determining or modifying idea. No notion is predetermined to be always the one or the other. It is a matter of presentation by words. On one occasion words may present a certain notion as the main notion, and, on another occasion, words may present the same idea as the modifying notion. It is a question of the 'vivakṣā' of the speaker. This distinction is rather important in grammar, because it explains some forma-

17. *Bhāṣya* on Pā. I. 2. 64.

18. *Bhāṣya* on Pā. II. 1.1 and Pā. I. 1.1. (Vā. 9).

19. Helā on *Vāk.* III. p. 302.

20. Helā on *Vāk.* III. p. 215.

21. वैशेषिकादीनां भवन्तु निःसामान्यानि सामान्यानि । ...वैयाकरणानां शब्दार्थोऽर्थ इत्यभ्युपेयतामन्वयिरूपाबधेदेन प्रत्ययस्योत्पत्तेर्जातिष्वपि जातिरविवक्षानुपगम्या ।

Helā on *Vāk.* III. p. 17.

tions. That is why Bhartṛhari makes this distinction before he takes up the exposition of the grammatical categories in the third kāṇḍa of the "Vākya-pāṇīya." The two words which he uses in this connection are द्रव्य and गुण ।

The word द्रव्य is used in two distinct meanings in the science of grammar. Or, rather, there are two conceptions of 'dravya' which must be clearly distinguished. There is the view that 'dravya' is the meaning of all the words and this view is to be distinguished from the other view that 'jāti' or Universal is the meaning of every word. Bhartṛhari says quite distinctly that 'dravya' conceived of as the meaning of every word is the same as what some people call 'ātmā', others 'vastu', others 'svabhāva', others 'śarīra', others still 'sattva'. All these words are synonymous.²² In other words 'dravya' means the ultimate reality, पारमार्थिकद्रव्य । It is not this dravya which is the opposite of guṇa and which we are now considering. What we are now considering is called सांख्यव्यवहारिक द्रव्य, and it is a matter of presentation by words.²³ What words present as a thing to be differentiated or to be distinguished from other things through some attribute or other is 'dravya.' This is not a definition of things, but of things as presented by words. Anything can be so presented and would have to be called 'dravya'. For instance movement or action is so presented in सुखं स्वीयते where the action of standing is presented as a thing and it is determined or modified by the word सुखम् ।²⁴ The meaning of the verb 'स्वीयते' is, therefore, द्रव्य । What is called quality can also be so presented as in the sentence शुक्लतरं रूपम् । Here रूपं, though a quality, is presented by words as a thing to be qualified or determined by white. It is, therefore, a 'dravya'. When anything is presented as a 'dravya' its chief characteristic is that it can be referred to by a pronoun as 'this' or 'that' or 'what'. For instance, the action in स्वीयते can be referred to by the pronoun किम् । Dravya, then, is that which is presented by words as a thing to be determined or to be distinguished and which can be referred to by a pronoun. As Bhartṛhari puts it :

वस्तूपलक्षणं यत्र सर्वनाम प्रयुज्यते ।

द्रव्यमित्युच्यते सोऽर्थो भेदत्वेन विवक्षितः ॥ Vāk. III. p. 141

सर्वनामप्रत्ययमर्शयोग्यत्वं, the fitness to be referred to by a pronoun is very often mentioned as the chief characteristic of anything presented as a 'dravya' by words.

22. आत्म वस्तु स्वभावश्च शरीरं सत्त्वमित्यपि । द्रव्यमित्यस्य पर्यायास्तच्च नित्यमिति स्मृतम् ॥
Vāk. III. p. 85.

23. द्रव्यं व दिविषं पारमार्थिकं सांख्यव्यवहारिकं च । तत्र द्वितीयं भेदभेदकप्रस्तावेन गुणसमुद्देशे वक्ष्यति वस्तूपलक्षणं यत्रेत्यादिना । Helā. on Vāk. III. p. 85

24. एवमास्यते स्वीयते इति किमादिभिः परामर्शात् सुखमित्येवमादिभिश्च विशेष्यत्वात् द्रव्यमित्याख्यातार्थोऽपि व्याहृतिदशने द्रव्यम् । Helā on Vāk. II. p. 143.

The counterpart of 'dravya' is 'guṇa'. Things in this world have attributes and it is through these attributes that we can speak about things at all. A thing, apart from its attributes, cannot even be talked about. When we apply a word to a thing, it is because of the presence of some 'guṇa' in it. This 'guṇa' may or may not be openly expressed by words but when we apply a word to a thing it is because of its presence. When we add abstract suffixes like त्व or तल् to a word, it denotes this 'guṇa' (यस्य गुणस्य भावाद् द्रव्ये शब्दनिवेशः तदभिधाने तस्मिन् गुणे वक्तव्ये प्रत्ययेन भवितव्यम् Bhā. on Pā. V. 1.119). What this guṇa is depends upon the nature of the word to which the suffixes त्व and तल् are added, but it will always be something which determines or qualifies something else. When they are added to words like रूप which always denote quality and never quality as existing in a thing, they denote the universal which exists in these qualities. Thus the Universal is now looked upon as 'guṇa.' रूपत्व, therefore, means the universal which exists in रूप। When these abstract suffixes are added to words like शुरु which convey a quality as existing in a thing, that is, which stand for both the quality and the thing, then they denote either the Universal or the 'guṇa' as the case may be. Words like 'anu' and 'mahat' and 'dīrgha' always stand for that which has dimensions, not for the dimensions themselves. The suffixes coming after such words, therefore, denote 'guṇa', namely dimension. When a word like गौः stands for the universal only, and not for the thing having the universal in it, these suffixes coming after the word denote the particular form of that word. That is to say, the form of the word now becomes the 'guṇa' or that which differentiates the Universal. The form of the word is superimposed on the Universal and thus it qualifies it and becomes 'guṇa' which finds verbal expression in this form : the word गौः is the Universal as presented by the word गौः and therefore identified with it. As Helārāja puts it : स्वरूपान्वेशेनार्थं प्रत्याययतः शब्दस्य स्वरूपमुपरंजकत्वाद् गुणः (Helā on Vāk. III. p. 145). When, however, the word गौः denotes the individual, the abstract suffix stands for the universal. Compounds and words ending in primary and secondary suffixes do not denote relation only, but the related. Therefore, when the abstract suffixes come after them they denote some relation or other. Thus in the word राजपुरुषत्व the suffix expresses the relation of master and servant. It expresses the relation of action and means in पाचकत्व because it is due to the presence of that relation that पाचक is so called. Similarly, औपगव is so-called on account of the presence of the relation of offspring and generator between उपगु and his offspring and त्व in औपगवत्व expresses this relation. In all these cases, then, it is some relation or other which becomes the 'guṇa' because relation can also determine or qualify things. (राजपुरुषत्वं पाचकत्वमौपगवत्वमित्यादौ तु संबन्धो यथायथं स्वरूपेणोपरंजकं प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं भावप्रत्ययाभिधेयम् (Helā Vāk. III, p. 146). Thus the 'guṇa' expressed by the abstract suffixes त्व and तल् is sometimes the Universal, sometimes a quality, sometimes the form of the word

itself, and sometimes a relation. It is due to the presence of one of these that a certain word becomes applicable to a certain thing. Therefore the abstract suffix denotes that 'guṇa'. It can be seen quite clearly that this conception of 'guṇa' is quite different from the Vaiśeṣika conception or from that of any other Śāstra because it is derived from such different words as a simple noun, a word ending in a primary suffix, a word ending in a secondary suffix, and a compound, and is meant to be the common notion which underlies and explains their formation. It is a conception derived from the Vaiyyākaraṇa point of view, which looks at forms and not at reality.

Not only does 'guṇa' serve to give a name to a thing, but it is also through 'guṇa' that a thing is distinguished from others of the same class. Not through any 'guṇa' that may be present in the thing, but only through those which are actually expressed by words. No single word can express all the attributes which may be present in a thing. A 'guṇa' which is not actually expressed by words cannot serve to distinguish a thing from others of the same class because such 'guṇas' may be many in number and there would be nothing to coordinate this function of theirs. What is actually expressed by words is in a different position. It comes to the mind more readily and thus serves more effectively to distinguish a thing from others of the same kind.²⁵ It is on account of this characteristic of 'guṇa' that the epithet भेदक is applied to it in the śāstras.²⁶

So far we have seen that guṇa exists in the thing which it makes fit to be talked about, that is, it is संसर्ग and it also serves to distinguish it from others of its class. It is भेदक. Another important characteristic of 'guṇa' is that it is through it that degree in a thing can be expressed. When a thing becomes nameable only through a 'guṇa', it is clear that it would depend on a 'guṇa' all the more for expression of degree. We do not say घटतर or घटतम because घट does not express a 'guṇa' and घट as such has no differences of degree. If a thing is called घट, it is because there is घटत्व in it and घटत्व, being a Universal, does not admit of degree. If it exists in a thing, the whole of it must be there. Whether there can really be any degree in जाति or Universal is not the point here. What is emphasised is that words are not capable of expressing universals as admitting of degree. Whatever distinction of degree is made in a thing must be done through a 'guṇa'. Sometimes a 'guṇa' itself is presented by words as a thing. In that case, differences of degree must be expressed through some other 'guṇa'. In शुक्लतरं रूपम्, 'rūpa' though a 'guṇa' is presented by words as a thing,

25. तस्य प्रतीयमानस्यानेकत्वान्नियमकारणाभावात्प्रतीतेरुपलब्धमानत्वात् बहिरङ्गत्वात् । अभिधीयमानस्तु गुणोऽन्तरङ्गो नियतप्रतीतिः । यदावेशेन हि द्रव्यमभिधीयते तदात्मन एवातिशय्यमानता नान्यायाः प्रकृत्यर्थोपाधित्वादतिशयस्य । Helā on Vāk. III. p. 152

26. अभिधीयमानस्यैव च प्रकृत्यर्थत्वाद् गुणो भेदक इति स्वशास्त्रलिखितं गुणरूपमत्र गृह्यते ।

Helā. on Vāk. III. p. 152.

a dravya, as something to be differentiated, and degree in it is expressed through another 'guṇa'. Even where the suffixes तर and तम are apparently added to words expressive of 'jāti' as in the words गोतर and गोतम, degree is really understood through 'guṇas.' There can be no degree in the Universal. As Patañjali puts it : नैष जातेः प्रकर्षः । कस्य तर्हि । गुणस्य । गौरयं यः शकटं वहति । गोतरोऽयं यः शकटं वहति सीरं च । गौरियं या समां समां विजायते गोतरेयं या समां समां विजायते स्त्रीवत्सा च । (Bhā. on Pā. V. 3.55). This is then another important characteristic of 'guṇa' as understood by grammarians. It serves to express degree in things. It is प्रकर्षे सव्यापारः. Thus the three chief characteristics of गुण as conceived by grammarians are संसर्गित्व, भेदकत्व and प्रकर्षे सव्यापारत्व । To put it in Bhartṛhari's words :

संसर्गि भेदकं यद् यद् सव्यापारं प्रतीयते ।

गुणत्वं परतंत्रत्वात् तस्य शास्त्र उदाहृतम् ॥

MISCELLANEA

DATE OF THE PURĀNAS

The problem of the date of the *Purānas* is very complicated and difficult for solution. But unless a definite and successful effort is made in that direction, the history of ancient India before the rise of Buddhism would merely be speculative, because the *Purānas* are perhaps, the most important source of our information for this period¹, and that information needs to be properly fixed in a chronological setting.

The *Mahā-purānas* in their present form, are of encyclopaedic nature, embodying several cultural and chronological strata. For in them are put together tradition and cosmogony, religion and mythology, philosophy and sociology. In view of this multifarious aspect of the Purāṇic literature it may not be possible to assign any definite date for the composition of a particular *Purāṇa*, but a critical examination of the contents of the *Purānas*, will help us in assigning the various topics discussed therein to different chronological periods. Besides, an examination of the references to the Purāṇic literature, in earlier literature, suggests that the Purāṇic literature has undergone a great change since its inception, the original *Purāṇa*, being far removed from its modern representatives. Thus the problem of the date of the *Purānas* has two aspects :—(1) How and when did the original *Purāṇa* come into existence? (2) How and when was the encyclopaedic nature of the present *Mahā-Purānas* attained?

The earliest references to the *Purāṇa*, as a form of literature, occur in the *Atharva Veda*² wherein *Purāṇa* is mentioned along with *Itihāsa*, *Gāthā*, *Nārāsaṁsi*. At another place³, it is associated with *R̥k*; *Sāman*, *Chandas*, and *Yajus*. These references to the *Purāṇa* show that it had attained a definite literary form and was regarded, as important, if not as sacred, as the *Vedas* themselves. And its association with *Itihāsa*, *Gāthā* and *Nārāsaṁsi*, throws a flood of light on the nature of its contents as early as the age of the *Atharvaveda*. It must have contained then, as its name signifies, interesting things of old, based on *Itihāsa*, *Gāthā*, *Nārāsaṁsi* etc. Its later association with *Itihāsa*, as is evidenced in the *Brāhmanas*.⁴ *Upaniṣads*⁵ etc. points in the same direction. Here it will be interesting to note that even in the *R̥gveda*⁶ *Nārāsaṁsi* and *Gāthā* are referred to.

All this helps us in inferring that even in the Vedic age, various traditions about the kings and events of yore, may have been floating about in society, handed down a common heritage, from generation to generation, by word of mouth. The royal bards and minstrels may have played a prominent rôle in the preservation of

1. Presidential Address delivered by Dr. A. S. ALTEKAR, at the *Archaic Section of Indian History Congress*, Calcutta, on 15-12-1939.

2. XV, 6, 11-12.

“तस्मिन्निहासञ्च पुराणं च गाथाञ्च नाराशंसीश्चानुव्यचलन् ॥ इतिहासस्य च वै स पुराणस्य च गाथानां च नाराशंसीनां च प्रियं धाम भवति य एवं वेद ॥”

3. *Atharvaveda*, XI, 7, 24.

“ऋचः सामानि छन्दांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह । उच्छिष्टाज्जिरे ॥”

4. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* XI, 5, 6, 8.

Gopatha Brāhmaṇa I, 10.

5. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, III, 4, 1-2.

6. X, 85, 6.

these traditions. Those who were entrusted with the preservation and handing down of these traditions were known as *Sūta*. *Māgadha*, *Purāṇavid*, etc. referred to even in the *Vedic*⁷ and *Epic*⁸ literatures. The *Mahā-Purāṇas*⁹ themselves refer to these, along with *Purāṇajña*, *Purāṇika*, *Purāṇavetī*, *Purāṇavācaka* etc. That the people of ancient India took keen interest in the accounts of heroes of yore, is obvious from the practice of reciting *Gāthās*, and *Akhyānas* of important kings, on the occasion of great sacrifices, as mentioned in the *Aitareya* and other *Brāhmaṇas*¹⁰, e.g., *Story of Sunahśepa*, *Story of Purūravas and Urvaśi*, etc. These may even be traced to the dialogue hymns of the *Rgveda*¹¹, the dialogue between Purūravas and Urvaśi¹², being to the point. Thus the *Rgveda* gives us the earliest clue to the story of Purūravas and Urvaśi, which was adopted by the *Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa*¹³ and the *Vāyu*¹⁴, *Matsya*¹⁵ and other *Purāṇas*¹⁶. Further references to *Purāṇa*, mostly along with *Itihāsa*, in the *Brāhmaṇas*¹⁷ and *Upaniṣads*¹⁸, clearly show that even sanctity came to be attached to it, inasmuch as, it was called a *Veda*¹⁹ to be recited by a priest at the time of a sacrifice.

Thus the foregoing account shows that the *Purāṇa* embodying old traditions and tales of heroes of yore, had attained a definite literary form during the period, between B.C. 1200 to B.C. 1000, the time of the *Atharva Veda*. Later on, even sanctity began to be attached to it and it came to be regarded as a veritable *Veda*. This was the original *Purāṇa* which gave rise to the later eighteen *Mahā Purāṇas*. Thus the accounts of kings and sages, as also the Royal genealogies which are included in the extant *Mahā-Purāṇas* are the remnants of the original *Purāṇa*. To these may be added the various *Akhyānas*, though linguistically of a later date, still containing a very old kernel of traditional history. The tradition about Vyāsa²⁰ having compiled the *Purāṇas* also suggests a date near about B.C. 1000, for according to PARGITER the great War may be assigned to B.C. 950.²¹ But this does not mean as PARGITER says²², "that the ancient tradition was compiled into the original *Purāṇa* about the ninth century B.C." WILSON has also similarly erred when he refers to "the institution of some attempt made under the direction of the latter (Vyāsa) to collect from the heralds and annalists of his day, the scattered tradition which they had imperfectly preserved."²³ This opinion of PARGITER and WILSON is erroneous in view of clear references in the *Atharvaveda* to the *Purāṇa*, as a definite literature. Hence Vyāsa or Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, son of Parāśara, may be credited with having given a final shape to the *Purāṇic* and *Vedic* literatures; he was the last editor in a long series, of which we have no idea. "He was" in the words of WILSON²⁴ "the head of a College of School under whom, various learned men, gave to the sacred literature of the Hindus the form in which it now presents itself." Vyāsa's efforts can best be understood when we realise that the *Bhārata War* was a great catastrophe for the Hindus, and their culture: those who survived, deemed it necessary to preserve all that was best in the past, thus giving a final shape to both *Brāhmaṇic* and

7. *Atharva Veda* XI, 8, 7; *Yajurveda* XXX, 5, 6.

8. *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 35, 5, 35; *Mahābhārata*, XIV, 72, 2087.

9. *Padma*, II, 27, 1-2; *Vāyu*, 62, 147-148; *Bd.* II, 36, 172-73.

10. KEITH A. B.: *Aitareya and Kāṣītaki* pp. 299, n. 1; WINTERNITZ: *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 312, n. 1.

11. *Rgveda*, X, 95; X, 108; III, 33; VII, 33.

12. *Ibid.* X, 95.

13. *Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 5, 1.

14. *Vāyu*, 91, 9-50

15. *Matsya* 24, 15-33.

16. Durgashankar K. SHASTRI: *Purāṇa Vivecana* (Gujarati), pp. 48-55.

17. See note, 4.

18. See note, 5.

19. *Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 14, 3, 13.

20. WILSON: *Vishnu Purāṇa*, (Preface), pp. XVII-XIX.

21. PARGITER: *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*, p. 182.

22. *Ibid.* p. 334.

23. WILSON: *Vishnu Purāṇa*, (Preface), p. XVIII.

24. *Ibid.* pp. XVII-XVIII.

Kṣatriya traditions, which were already embodied in literary forms; henceforth the canon was closed.

This closure of the canon led to the bifurcation of the Purāṇic literature. The traditions about the kingly heroes subsequent to the Great War had also to be preserved, as popular taste must have demanded it; but the last word on the *Purāṇa* was already written by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana. So a device was found out and the Purāṇic compilation began to be supplemented by fresh traditions about the events described as occurring in future, so that the sanctity of the old authors may not be polluted; on the other hand, it may even be enhanced by ascribing prophetic insight to the last compiler. In course of time, this supplementary addition grew into bulk and came to be regarded a compilation by itself. Thus came into existence, a *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa*, a contradiction in term, to which a clear reference is made in the *Āpastambha Dharma Sūtras*²⁵. That the extant *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* as also the 'Bhaviṣya account' in other *Purāṇas*, begins with the post-Bhārata kings, lends support to this view, and suggests that in the Purāṇic literature, the post-Bhārata period was invariably called *Bhaviṣya*, as PARGITER has also inferred.²⁶ The *Āpastambha Dharma Sūtras* according to BÜHLER²⁷ cannot be later than the third century B.C. and possibly 150-200 years earlier. Thus at least a century or two may have elapsed before the *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa* attained a position of *Dharma Śāstra*. It may be inferred that about the 6th Cent. B.C. the *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa* had branched off from the original *Purāṇa*. The process of bifurcation starting after the Bhārata War attained its finality about the 6th Cent. B.C. This stage may well be witnessed in the extant Mahā-Purāṇas when they describe in prophetic language, the post-Bhārata kings.

With the progress of time, this bifurcated Purāṇic literature came to be modified when more additions were made to it. This was due to its popular nature and easy accessibility. Whatever appealed to the popular mind, could easily find a place in it. This is how philosophy, cosmogony, etc. could creep into it. The sixth century B.C. was a period of great philosophical speculation and religious upheaval in northern India.²⁸ Men's minds were directed towards the ways and means of liberating the soul from its bondage. Then the social customs and usages were also commanding popular interest. These, together with the speculative thought about the creation of human beings as also the universe could easily creep into the Purāṇic literature, thus opening a new page in the history of the development of the Purāṇic literature.

The references to the Purāṇic literature in the *Gṛhya* and *Dharma Sūtras*²⁹ as also Kauṭilya's *Artha Śāstra*³⁰, clearly show how even customary law was incorporated in it, in the 5th or 6th Cent. B.C. The presence in the extant *Mahā Purāṇas*³¹ of Sāṃkhya doctrines, in their crude form, as also the account of creation, suggests the same date, for the new modification. This change in the Purāṇic literature necessitated a definition which could systematize the unwieldy growth. Thus the *Pañca Lakṣaṇa* theory came into being, that a *Purāṇa* should treat of five subjects—original creation, dissolution and recreation, the *Manvantaras*, ancient genealogies and the accounts of persons mentioned in the genealogies. This definition occurs in the *Mahā Purāṇas*³² themselves and even Amara Simha refers to

25. *Āpastambhiya Dharma Sūtra* II, 24, 506.

26. PARGITER : *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*, pp. 53, 54.

27. *Sacred Books of the East*, II, p. XLIII.

28. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 150.

29. *Sāṃkhya-yana-Srautasūtra*, XVI, 2, 27; *Gautama-dharmasūtra* VIII, 6, XI, 19.

30. *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, I, 3 (p. 7), I, 5 (p. 10).

31. *Vāyu*, I-III, IV-XIV; WILSON : *Vishnu Purāṇa*, (Preface) p. XCIV.

32. *Ibid.* IV, 10, 11.

it in his *Amara Koṣa*.³³ This shows that by the time of Amara Siṃha the definition was long established, hence he had to include it in his lexicon. It could not have been coined after the *Purāṇas* substantially took their present form, comprising great quantities of other matters, especially Brāhmaṇic doctrine, ritualistic religion and the merits of Tirthas. Some of the earlier *Purāṇas* like the *Vāyu*, *Matsya*, *Viṣṇu* etc. which come nearer the *Pañca Lakṣaṇa* ideal may have branched off even in this period, when *Pañca Lakṣaṇa* ideal was upheld, though, even in their case, additions were made subsequently.

The beginning of the Christian Era witnessed a great change in the religious life of India. As a result of the influence of Mahāyāna Buddhism and also due to certain independent causes, the Bhakti cult became the pivot of Hinduism.³⁴ Worship of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśa, and other deities became prominent. And naturally this cult could not fail to find its place in the *Purāṇic* literature, which was as we already know, considered a common heritage. The devotees of these deities began to supplement this literature, with the glories of their own particular deities, resulting in the growth of this literature and gave it a sectarian colouring. Thus the period of Mahā *Purāṇas* was ushered in, the old definition of the *Pañca Lakṣaṇa* was lost sight of and the *Purāṇas* came to be named after a particular deity. By the seventh century or so, the form of the eighteen *Mahā Purāṇas* was more or less fixed. But more sectarian material was available which found its place in another literary form of the same name, i.e., *Upa Purāṇas*.³⁵ Thus, the *Purāṇic* compilation assumed different forms owing to sectarian needs and local conditions.

An analytic examination of the extant *Mahā Purāṇas* shows, how all the eighteen can be grouped as Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava³⁶, and each one more or less may easily be assigned to a particular locality, thus representing the version of the *Purāṇic* traditions as handed down and preserved in that locality³⁷, shrouded in the over-growth of sectarian matter.

With regard to the chronology of the extant *Purāṇas*, both internal and external evidence lends support, to the view that the *Vāyu Purāṇa* is by far the oldest of the extant *Purāṇas*³⁸; it may be taken as far back as the 3rd cent. B.C. on the evidence of the *Mahā-Bhārata*.³⁹ PARGITER⁴⁰ has assigned the *Matsya* to about 280 A.D. while the *Viṣṇu*, *Markaṇḍeya* and others are assigned to the Gupta Age⁴¹; while the *Bhāgavata*⁴² is taken to the 6th cent. A.D.

Thus an analytic examination of the extant *Mahā Purāṇas* reveals to us that the *Purāṇic* literature had to pass through, roughly speaking, four different stages of development, which can be assigned to definite chronological epochs, clearly reflected in the extant *Purāṇas*, before it achieved its modern and multifarious form. These stages may briefly be stated, as under :—

I. *Vamśa and Ākhyāna stage.*

(From B.C. 1200 to B.C. 1000).

Its traces may be discerned in the extant *Mahā Purāṇas* in the accounts of kings, patriarchs, as also the *Ākhyānas* of old kings like Pururavas and others.⁴³

33. R. C. HAZRA : *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 4.
WILSON : *Vishnu Purāṇa*, (Preface) p. VII.

34. *Ibid.* p. XI-XIII.

35. *Ibid.* *Vishnu Purāṇa*, (Preface) pp. LXXXVI-XCI.

36. *Ibid.* XIII.

37. *Ibid.* (Preface).

38. R. C. HAZRA : *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 13.

39. *Mahābhārata* III, 191, 16.

40. PARGITER : *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Introduction, p. XIII.

41. V. A. SMITH : *Early History of India*, pp. 22-24.

42. R. C. HAZRA : *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 55.

43. See Notes 14, 15.

II. *Bifurcation Stage.*

(From B.C. 1000 to B.C. 600).

It is represented by the *Bhaviṣya* account in the extant *Purāṇas*.

III. *Pañca Lakṣaṇa Stage.*

(From B.C. 600 to A.D. 100).

The accounts of creation and dissolution of universe as also recreation and chapters on *Varṇāśrama*, *Śraddha-kalpa*, etc. smacking of a social code, together with the philosophic doctrines, are the remnants of this stage in the extant *Purāṇas*.

IV. *Sectarian or Encyclopaedic stage.*

(From A.D. 100 to A.D. 700).

This is represented in the *Purāṇas* by chapters on devotion to Śiva and Viṣṇu, the *Māhātmyas* of Tīrthas and sundry other matters.⁴⁴

In the light of these four stages of *Purāṇic* development in their chronological setting, the problem of the date of the *Purāṇas* unfolds all its mystery and we can say that the *Purāṇas* as they stand to-day, represent different chronological and cultural epochs of Hindu history.

Andheri.

S. D. GYANI

THE INDIAN EPICS AND THE PLANETS

The stories of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* are more widely known and read than the history of the Moghals and the English in India. Incredibly fabulous as are the exploits of Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and of the Pāṇḍavas, the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*, they are believed as gospel truth and are more highly appraised than the benevolent acts of Aśoka and other emperors of India. It is true that they are more dramatic and charming than the dry facts of later Indian history. Now the question is : are the epic stories human after all ? If so, how did they come to have such an unnatural and incredible garb ? The fact is that they are not at all entirely human ; but partly human and partly divine, that is, stories of incarnations, as stated by the authors of the epics themselves. While Rāma is the incarnation of Viṣṇu, the sun, the Pāṇḍavas are the incarnations of Yama, Vāyu, Indra, and the Nāsatyas, the Aśvins. In fact they are all the planets and their exploits are the phenomena connected with conjunction, occultation, and opposition of planets in the course of their movements along their orbits.

Rāma is the sun ; Lakṣmaṇa is Jupiter ; and Bharata and Satrugṇa who are said to be ever at Rāma's Pādūkā or sandal are Mercury and Venus who never leave the vicinity of the sun. Likewise King Dhṛtarāṣṭra is the king moon, who having no light of his own, is regarded as born blind. His hundred sons are the hundred asterisms making up the 27 constellations, personified as one Gāndhārī, the king's wife. Pāṇḍu is also the king moon and his five sons are Yudhiṣṭhira by the boon of Yama, the deity of the asterism Bharanī ; Bhīma due to the boon of Vāyu ; the deity of the asterism Svāti ; Arjuna or Phalgunā, born under the influence of Indra

or 'Aryaman, the deity of the asterism ~~Phalguni~~ ^{Bharguni}; and the twin brothers Sahadeva and Nakula are the results of the boon from the Aśvins and are therefore Mercury and Venus. While the Aśvins are *bhiṣaja*, medical gods, the latter are *narās*, men. While the hundred sons of the blind king have a firm hold over their respective dominions, the five Pāṇḍavas are ever wandering beggars having not even an inch of space to rule over or to stay even. Yudhiṣṭhira is Saturn bravely confronting occultation or fight; Bhīma is Mars; Arjuna is Jupiter; and Nakula and Sahadeva are Venus and Mercury.

There is evidence to believe that originally the 27 constellations were made up of 100 asterisms, by assigning 3 asterisms to the Aśvins, 3 to Bharanī, 6 to Kṛttikā and so on. While Śrīpati makes it 200 by assigning 100 to Śatabhiṣaj, other works make it only 100 or 101 by giving one or two to Śatabhiṣaj. There is evidence to believe that they were only 100 and that they were counted beginning with Pūrva-bhādrapada and ending with Abhijit which was called Śatatāra on account of its being the hundredth in the list. Each asterism is called a Bhiṣaj, physician, on account of its supplying the waning moon with necessary medicine for curing him from his consumption. According to R. V. X, 85 Maghā and Śatabhiṣaj were the seats of summer and winter solstices and Kṛttikā and Viśākhā were the seats of equinoxes.

The incidents narrated in the epic as relating to the Pāṇḍavas also indicate their planetary nature. Once while wandering in the forest, the four Pāṇḍu brothers are said to have been swallowed by a big snake that was no other than Indra, Nahuṣa turned into a snake under the curse of Agastya, one of the seven Bears. The snake told Yudhiṣṭhira that his brothers would be let off provided that he would give correct answers to one hundred questions put to him by the snake. He did so and his brothers were let out. This implies the occultation of the four minor planets in the vicinity of Āśleṣā, the deity of which is a snake. On another occasion the same four brothers fell dead owing to their drinking water from a pond in the forest. They were revived by Yudhiṣṭhira's correct replies to the one hundred questions put to him by an Yakṣa. This also implies an occultation of the same four planets in the vicinity of Puṣya, which is compared to a pond, Taṭāka, as a means of its identification. The halt of the five brothers in a potter's house when they came to the capital of king Drupada for the marriage of Draupadī means the conjunction of the five minor planets in the vicinity of the asterism Viśākhā which is called a tree and also a potter's wheel. Draupadī is the sun's daughter, Sūryā; for the sun and the moon are said in R. V. 1, 164 to have their abode in the celestial Pippala or Āsvattha tree.

There is overwhelming evidence in the Vedas to prove that planets and planetary occultations were clearly known to the Vedic bards: the planets are called in the Vedas *Pañca janās*, five men, a phrase which is usually translated by Western scholars as "five tribes of early Hindu settlers in India." They are also called five *Vipras*, learned priests, five *Carṣṇīs*, five moving bodies, and *Pañca Ukṣāṇaḥ*, five bulls, and *Pañca Kṣitayāḥ*, five dwellers on earth on account of their appearing as morning or evening stars. They are *Janās* or *Narās*, men, because like men they are subject to frequent birth and death, that is, occultation and re-appearance. Their occultation by the sun is termed their ascent to heaven. In fact the disappearance of the planets during occultation and their re-appearance after the transit of the occulting planet seems to have given rise to the conception of human transmigration. Any how occultation meant to them death and re-appearance re-birth.

To the Vedic bards occultation or eclipse meant not merely loss of life-for the time being, but also the loss of wealth, gold, silver, lustre, and even the covering garment. Hence just before death the dying man or his agents are required to make gifts out of the property of the departing soul to virtuous men as an investment for the restoration of such property to the soul on its return to the earth or the place from which it departed. It was believed that if such charity or Dakṣiṇā was not

made, the dead soul's property would pass into the possession of wicked men like *Paṇis* or merchants who without making any charity for their own good or for the good of others would hide it in caves. The celestial merchants or *Paṇis* are the stars which are regarded as niggardly bodies never making any sacrifice or worship of Indra and other gods and are therefore compelled by Indra to restore their hoarded wealth and cows meaning lustre to the planets after their return from heaven. On the occasion of their return from heaven the celestial cow is said to milk its nectar-like milk on the returning bodies. Loss of wealth or lustre is described in the Vedas as nakedness. The planetary nature of the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas, their loss of wealth and nakedness, and their appeal to the survivor of the Kurus on the death of the hundred in the battles for restoration of wealth is distinctly referred to in R. V. X, 33 as follows :—

The leaders of the (five) *Janās* have also involved me : on the way
I availed myself of the aid of Pūṣan, the guardian of patls.
The Viśve Devās have brought me safely ; but there is the cry that
Duśśāsu has come.

The ribs that compass me give pain and trouble me like rival wives.
Indigence, nakedness, and exhaustion press me sore : my mind is
fluttering like a bird's. 2

As rats eat weavers' threads cares are consuming me, thy singers,
Indra.

Have mercy on us once, Indra, bounteous lord ; be thou a father
unto us. 3

I, a Rṣi of the (five) priests, have implored king Kuruśravaṇa, the
noble, and of Trasadasyu's line ; 4

Whose three bay-horses harnessed to the car brought me straight
onward : I will implore him in this sacrifice needs.

The father of Upamaśravas to whom the songs would have proved
sweet, as a fair field to its lord, 6

Mark, Upamaśravas, his son, and grandson of Mitrātithi,
I am thy father's eulogist. 7

If I controlled immortal gods, yea, even were I lord of the five men.
My liberal prince would be living still. 8

None, not even he with a hundred souls with him can live beyond
the statute of the gods.

So he has passed away with his followers. 9

The above verses imply that the conjunction of the five planets in the vicinity of the asterism Revati whose deity is Pūṣan dragged the sun or the sun's daughter Sūryā, the wife of the five, on the scene. Immediately there came Duśśāsu, the uncontrollable moon, causing a solar eclipse, and consequently intense tremor to the woman and loss of lustre to her and her husbands. Sūryā appeals to the blind father of Duśśāsu for restoration of wealth and lustre. Meanwhile the eclipse clears and darkness passes away, driving out the hundred stars and even the moon, in obedience to the canons of eclipses. Mitrātithi means new-moon day which is a day of no Tithi ; for a Tithi means a distance of 12 degrees between the sun and the moon. the words *Kuru* and *Śravas* mean workers and libations in the Vedas. Draupadi-vastrāpaharaṇa, the main plot of the *Mahābhārata*, seems to have been based upon these and other Vedic verses descriptive of total solar eclipses. That the Itihāsas and the purāṇas are illustrative studies of eternal laws of planetary occultations and eclipses imbedded in the Vedas is given expression to in an oft-quoted Sanskrit

verse, which means : "The Veda fears a man of limited learning that he may misrepresent it : hence one should expand the meaning of the Vedas by means of Itihāsas and Purāṇas."

PART II.

THE VEDAS AND THE PLANETS.

Having shown how the heroes of the epics are the counterparts of the seven planets, I now proceed to show that the gods, R̥sis and priests of the Vedas are the planets and their acts in the sacrificial hall are imitations of the phenomena connected with planetary motions, occultations and eclipses. The names given to five priests in the Vedas are Atharvans, Bhṛgu, and Āṅgirasas. In later Sanskrit literature Venus is known as Bhārgava, a descendant of the Bhṛgu, and Jupiter is called an Āṅgirasa. The Bhṛgu are called Saptagṛha or holders of a sacrificial session of seven months, at the close of which they are said to go to heaven and after a sojourn there for five months, they are said to return to this world with the same brilliance that they had before. This means that Venus remains invisible for about 5 months in the year and moves visible for about 7 months, a fact which is known to every student of astronomy. Likewise the Āṅgirasas hold their session for 9 or 10 months according to the procedure of one or the other of the two schools of the Āṅgirasas. This also signifies that Jupiter can be seen in the sky for nine or ten months in the year and that he becomes invisible for 3 or 2 months in the year, when he comes in contact with the sun. The time or period of visibility is called a Sattrā or sacrificial session, and the period of invisibility is termed ascent to Svarga, heaven. But as we shall see, occultation by the moon is called Mṛtyu or untimely death and remedial measures are taken to revive the dead. Mercury is called Dirghatamas, as he is hardly visible to untrained eyes. Since the time taken by Mars to make a revolution in his orbit is about 687 days, which is equal to two nodal years of 343 days each and since $1\frac{1}{2}$ revolutions of the planet are equal to 1030 days, which forms a unit eclipse cycle of three eclipses on one node, as I have already pointed out both in my "Drapsa" and "Eclipse-cult," he is regarded in the Vedas as the Hotar or caller of the attention of the people to the approach of the season of eclipses. As a rule Yajña or animal or vegetable sacrifice is undertaken only on the occasion of solar or lunar eclipses or on the occasion of occultation of a minor planet or planets. Mars who is invariably called Agni is the only planet called upon to carry the sacrificial offerings to the gods and to avert the calamities due to the eclipses or occultations. Saturn is Yama, the son of Saranyu, the dawn, and the sun. Owing to the curse of his step-mother Chāyādevī he lost his legs and moves slowly. He is therefore called Śanaīś-cara, slow walker.

Turning to the story of the *Rāmāyāna*, it is easy to discern that Rāma represents the sun, Lakṣmaṇa the Jupiter, Bharata the Venus, and Śatrughna the planet Mercury. Rāma's pursuit after a deer implies the sun's march to the asterism Mṛgaśīras, indicating the time of the urge of Sītā, the plough-share and the approach of the time of the appearance of the Dog-star, Śunāsira, mentioned in R. V. IV, 57. Vālī, the son of the sun, is Saturn, as indicated by the gold-chain in his neck. Sugrīva is Jupiter. Their fight with each other is what is called *Graha-yuddha* in Hindu astronomy. It means that while the two planets are in almost the same longitude, Jupiter begins his retrograde movement (*Vakragati*) and faces Saturn. Meanwhile the sun (Rāma) comes near Saturn, Vālī, and discerning him to be Vālī by his gold-chain round his neck (Saturn's ring), strikes him dead, that

is, renders him invisible by his own overpowering rays. Jupiter (Sugriva) was safe, for he was far away. In Hindu astrological works Saturn is always called the enemy of the sun. Indrajit, the son of Rāvana, is the moon. Rāvana is also the moon. Lakṣmaṇa's falling into a trance while fighting with Indrajit means the occultation of Jupiter by the moon. This incident seems to have been based on Jupiter's occultation by the moon, mentioned in R.V. X, 57-61, as we shall see. Hanumān, the son of Vāyu, is Mars, the Vedic Agni. His smoky tail is long, and he can jump from house to house and burn anything that comes in contact with him. Jupiter is very often his companion and acts like him; but he does not, however, burn anything. He is the son of Indra who seems to be no other than Śunāsira, Sirius, the Dog-star, whose haunt is the region of Cancer and Leo. It is the locality where Jupiter appears brightest. Like Vāli Karna of the *Mahābhārata* is the son of the sun and is therefore Saturn. He wears a golden ear-ring, a pot of nectar in his breast, resembling Saturn's rings. The Vedic name of Jupiter is Śamyu. His other Vedic name is Subandhu. His sudden death and revival forms the subject-matter of the six hymns, 57 to 62 of the 10th Maṇḍala of the Rgveda. In later Sanskrit literature Mercury is known as Rauhiṇya, the son of Rohiṇi; Venus, the son of the asterism Makhā; Jupiter the son of P. Phalguni; and Mars the son of the asterism P. Aśāḍha, the moon being their common father. Coming to know of these names, Prof. BENTLEY argued that the birth of the planets from the respective asterisms meant their occultation by the moon when the moon was with those asterisms in order and their re-appearance with those asterisms when the moon left them one after another in order. By astronomical calculation he found that the planets were situated in the above order, only in B.C. 1425-1424. Prof. Max MÜLLER took up this question and referred it to the Rev. R. MAIN, the Radcliffe Observer. At his instance Mr. HIND verified the calculations and wrote to Prof. Max MÜLLER saying that all the conjunctions were correct; but that Jupiter was the only planet occulted at the time, namely, April 22, B.C. 1424 (Preface to the Fourth Volume of the First Edition of the Rgveda by Prof. Max MÜLLER). The conclusion arrived at by Prof. Max MÜLLER on receipt of this letter is that as there seems to be no reference to planets or occultations of planets in the Vedas it may be inferred that the Brahmins of the Purāṇic times possessed sufficient knowledge to be able to calculate correctly the longitudes and latitudes of the moon and of the four planets at B.C. 1424. Likewise speaking of the Kali-era which began in B.C. 3102 when the seven planets were in conjunction in the Sign of Piscis, Western scholars hold a similar opinion and say that at about 500 A.D. Hindu scholars calculated the time of conjunction of all the seven planets in Piscis and fixed their era at the remote period of B.C. 3102. But as I have already pointed out in the *Poona Orientalist* for January, 1941, the conjunction of the seven planets in Piscis in B.C. 3102 is implied, though not distinctly stated in the Rgveda. Basing his translation and notes on Sāyaṇa's commentary WILSON says in his notes on his translation of R. V. IV, 44: "Surya, it is related, was desirous of giving his daughter Sūryā to Soma, the moon; but all the gods desired her as a wife. They agreed that he who should first reach the sun, as a goal, should wed the damsel. The Āsvins were victorious; and Sūryā, well pleased by their success, rushed immediately into their chariot." Now it is very well known that the Vedic poets regarded the sun, the moon, the other planets known or unknown to them, the constellations, and the stars as gods. The race of gods (Āji) must necessarily mean, therefore, the movement of moving or running luminaries. The arrival of the Āsvins first and of the rest as second or third behind implies that the sign of the Aries with the asterisms Āsvins appeared first in the east and that the rest fell behind in the sign of Piscis before sun-rise or after sunset. I have also pointed out in my "Drapsa" that according to Āryabhaṭṭa the cycle of sixty years made

sixty revolutions by 500 A.D. when Āryabhaṭṭa was 23 years old and that according to the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* it made thirty revolutions (*śaṣṭiśca trīmśakā valgā śukla-kṛṣṇau ca śaṣṭhikau*) by B.C. 1302, the date of the Āraṇyaka. This disposes of the vexed question of the reality of the beginning of the Kali-era. Now resuming the question of planets, I may state, though my statement may sound strange or surprising, that there is overwhelming evidence to prove that the Vedic bards knew not merely the five minor planets and their occultations, but performed sacrifices called Sattras on the occasion of their ascent to the heavens and of their descent into the world. They expressed the transmigration of the planets not in astronomical technical terms which were just under formation then, but in sacrificial terms and stories. The story of the four out of the five minor planets is narrated by Sāyaṇa in his introduction to his commentary on R.V. X, 57. "King Asamāti had four priests called Bandhu, Subandhu, Śrutabandhu, and Viprabandhu, who were brothers and who belonged to the family of the Gopāyanas. Not satisfied with them he dismissed them and appointed two new priests called in the dual Kilātakulī, who had magical powers. The dismissed men having used incantations against the life of the king, the new priests took away the life of one of them, viz., Subandhu when he was sleeping, and concealed it within the Paridhi (an imaginary fortification for Agni made by placing the sticks of certain kinds of tree in a certain manner on the altar). His three brothers prayed to Agni by means of the Sūktas (R. V. X, 57 to 62). Agni came out and inquired why they had come to him. They said: "We beseech you for the life of Subandhu." He said: "Here it is within the Paridhi; take it up." They took it up by repeating the six verses, 7 to 12, of R.V. X, 60. If it is shown that Subandhu mentioned here is Jupiter and that he was occulted in P. Phalgunī by the moon, there will be no doubt left about the knowledge of planets and planetary occultations during the Vedic period.

Sūkta 57 prays for the coming back of the life of a person who has been apparently dead. Sūkta 58 repeats the same and says that "We cause thy life to come to thee again that thou mayst live and sojourn here, no matter whether that life has gone to Yama, the sea, the sun, or anywhere-else." In Sūkta 59 verses 5 and 6 which are even now used as Mantras to induce life or god's presence in freshly prepared earthen, wooden, or metallic images of gods to be worshipped, goddess Asuniti is prayed to for the restoration of eyes, which is a name given to the two phalgunis; and Indra is called upon to drive forward the bullock which has brought the Uśīnarāṇī's wagon there. In Sūkta 60 the first four verses speak of the arrival of the near relations of the *Janās* (the planets) to the scene of the dead; and verse 5 calls upon Indra to bring the sisters of Agastya, Canopus, who is said in astronomical works to rise in Aquarius when the sun arrives in Leo. Verse 6 says—"O Subandhu, get up; I am your father and mother, and have come to be your life, which I held for security, and not for death, and which I have brought back from Yama". Verse 12 speaks of the revival and getting up of Subandhu saying—"This is my Hasta, with Bhaga, or rather with more of Bhaga; this Hasta contains the healing balm."

As the Vedic verse itself calls Subandhu to rise up, it follows that Subandhu was the dead person and that the others were his brothers and relatives. As Bhaga and Hastā are the names of Uttara Phalgunī and Hastā asterisms, it follows that the scene of death was close to Uttaraphalgunī, that is, somewhere in Pūrva Phalgunī. The use of the words "Bhagavat, and Bhagavattara" in the verse seem to imply that Hastā was in association with a greater part of Bhagā, U Phalgunī, which indicates the distribution of one part of U Phalgunī to Leo and three parts to Vergo in the zodiacal division of constellations. Prayer for Agastya's arrival implies that Agastya has not yet arisen and that the sun has not yet arrived in Leo. In hymn 61 the word "*Kanā*" meaning Kanyā, virgins, (Vergo) is used thrice. Hence it is clear that three out of 12 Signs are mentioned in these hymns. The statement

that Hastā contains the healing balm also implies that Hastā is an asterism, for as already pointed out the 27 constellations are termed *Bhishajās*, physicians. What is more significant than anything else is the reference to niggardly Panis or merchants in verse 6, who are said elsewhere in the Vedas to hoard wealth and lustre of others and to be unwilling to restore them, unless they are compelled to surrender the life-property by the two Saramā-dogs with four eyes, Brhaspati, and Indra. As each of the two Phalgunis is compared to four eyes for facility of identification in the list of the 27 asterisms, the two Sermā-dogs claiming wealth and lustre must necessarily represent the two Phalgunis in need of wealth and lustre which they have just lost on the occasion of Subandhu's death. Sāyaṇa interprets Panis as merchants (*Vanijah*) and quotes Yāska in support of his interpretation (Panir vaniḥ bhavati iti Yāskah) in R.V. 1, 124, 10. Mr. Raja RAO, the author of "Eclipse-code of the Vedas as revealed in the Sunaśṣopa hymns and the Brahmanas," and "The Vedic Eclipse-cycle of One Hundred Eclipses in Forty Years," suggests that Vanik may be a name given by the Vedic poets to the Sign of Libra. Leaving this side issue, let us take up the question under consideration. If Subandhu's death or trance has happened in the asterism of P. Phalguni, as inferred from various considerations referred to above, then the next point to be considered is the cause of his death. As we shall presently see, there are two causes of Subandhu's disappearance leaving his wealth and lustre called cows in Vedic terminology. One is the sudden appearance of Rudra or Kṛṣṇaśavāsi on the scene to take possession of the thousand cows of Subandhu, the Āṅgīrasa. The second is the appearance of Nābhānediṣṭha, Manu's son, to claim the same cows as fees for sending the Āṅgīrasa to Svarga. Of these two causes, the first is what Neither Subandhu nor his brothers expected. The second is the one which they desired and for which ample preparations were made. Observance of rites for five days for this purpose has been got through and on the sixth day the Āṅgīrasa had Maudhya, ignorance, and the priests did not know how to proceed onwards. It is at this moment that Uśīnarāṇi's wagon came there, as stated in verse 6 of Sūkta 59. According to the *Mahābhārata* Sibi is the king of the country known as Uśīnara, and is famous for his charity and self-sacrifice. He is said to have given his own flesh and even his bone in order to save the life of a poor dove from an eagle. It is also said that he killed his own son and cooked his flesh to satisfy a starving Brahmin who desired his flesh to alleviate hunger. This is an allegorical description of the moon's waning and waxing. The moon is said to be giving his own flesh not merely to the sun-bird, but also to the starving fathers in heaven on the new-moon day. Likewise in the *Jātaka* stories of the Buddhists Sibi is praised for his self-sacrifice, and in the *Sibi-jātaka* Sibi is described as the daughter of King Padma. Her name is Silver-colour and she is said to have been giving the cuttings of her own breast to a woman who had just been delivered of her first-born son (BEAL'S Buddhist Sibi-jātaka, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX, p. 145). Here the silver-colour is evidently the moon, the woman is the sun, and the first-born son is the crescent or the first phase of the waxing moon appearing on the first day of the light-half of the month. It follows therefore that Sibi or Uśīnara is an allegorical name of the moon and Uśīnarāṇi is an allegorical name of the moon and Uśīnarāṇi is the queen of the moon, namely, any one of the 27 asterisms. Accordingly the request made by Subandhu's brothers to Indra to drive away the chariot of the moon's queen means no more than forcing the departure of moon from P. Phalguni, so as to hasten the revival of Subandhu from his trance or occultation. Thus from the information furnished by the words "Uśīnarāṇi, Bhagavat or Bhagavattara Hastā, and Panis" in the verses we can arrive at the conclusion that Subandhu's trance means Jupiter's occultation by the moon on the eve of, or prior to, his departure to heaven after the arrival of the sun close to him, and his reappearance in the vicinity of the asterism Hastā after the sun's depart-

ture to the merchants in Libra in the course of four months from the date of his occultation by the moon. If there is still any doubt left, what is stated in Sūktā 61 will be enough to remove it. In his introduction to his commentary on the Sūktā Sāyaṇa calls our attention to the story of Nābhānediṣṭha to clearly understand the Sūktā. The story is as follows :—

Manu divided his property among his sons. He deprived Nābhānediṣṭha, who was a student, of any portion. He went to him and said : "How hast thou deprived me of any portion ?" He replied : "I have not deprived you of a portion. The Ṇgirāsas here are performing a Satra. They cannot discern the world of heaven. Declare the secret to them and send them to the world of heaven. They will give thee their cattle, as fees, before they go." He went there and when he was about to undertake the task, Rudra called Kṛṣṇāśavāsi who was hastily talking and was in hurry suddenly came on the scene, and took possession of the altar and began to conduct the sacrifice, appropriating to himself the thousand cows set apart by the Ṇgirāsas as fees for conducting the sacrificial session of ten months to a finish and leading them to heaven. He also told Nābhānediṣṭha to go and report the matter to Manu and ask for his opinion. He did so and returning said to Kṛṣṇāśavāsi that in the opinion of his father Kṛṣṇāśavāsi was right. Pleased with Nābhānediṣṭha for his speaking the truth, Kṛṣṇāśavāsi placed the sacrificial hall and the cows in Nābhānediṣṭha's charge and went on his way saying that he might conduct the sacrifice and take the cows for himself. The latter did so and sending the Ṇgirāsas to the world of heaven took the cows for himself. This is an allegorical story and without understanding what it was intended to signify, we cannot understand what the Vedas in general and the Sūktas 61 and 62 in particular mean. In the story Nābhānediṣṭha stands for the sun ; Kṛṣṇāśavāsi represents the moon ; the world of heaven signifies death or occultation, first by the moon and then by the sun. Gift of 1000 cows signifies gift of life and lustre at the moment of death or occultation. The Ṇgirāsas are four here named Bandhu, Subandhu, Śrutabandhu, and Viprabandhu representing Venus, Jupiter, Mars, and Mercury respectively. The sudden arrival of Rudra on the sixth Atirātra day of the session clearly implies that the moon came there passing through six asterisms after the new-moon, and that the sun was about 50 degrees behind him. Since Mercury and Venus cannot be farther than about 30 and 50 degrees respectively from the sun, it follows that the moon came leaving Mercury and Venus behind and on the sixth day she met another planet and occulted him. The planet occulted was Ṇgirāsa who was to be sent to the world of heaven by Nābhānediṣṭha, the sun, at the close of the Ṇgirāsa's ten months' session so as to let him come back to the earth after two months' sojourn in heaven. Rudra's taking by force the Ṇgirāsa's 1000 cows meant the Ṇgirāsa's premature death which is bemoaned in Sūktas 57-60. Sūktas 61-62 speak of his natural death after ten months year after year and of his return to this world again drenched and revived by the shower of nectar made by the nectar-milking cow, the asterism of Hastā, which gave birth to no calf or a planet. In the first two verses of Sūktā 61 Rudra's cruel acts find mention. Verses 3 to 6 speak of the birth of the two human (Narās) Āśvins, Mercury and Venus, one on the summit of a hill (Sānu) and another in the mid-region of air. Rohiṇī is the hill and the mid-region of air is the commencement of Leo, since Cancer and Leo form Antariṣa on one side and Capricorn and Aquarius form a second atmosphere between earth and heaven on the other side. Hence Maghā comes exactly in the middle of atmosphere (verse 6). The same sixth verse speaks of the birth of another planet quite close to the mid-region of air. It must necessarily be P. Phalgunī. In verse 7 the birth of another planet from the earth is mentioned. He can be no other than *Dharaśuta*, Mars. As he is said to be in Waters, Apah, deity of P. Āśādhā, it follows that he was in P. Āśādhā. Verse 10 refers to the Ṇgirāsa's or Jupiter's occultation by the moon

by saying that at the close of 9 months he lost his 1000 cows. Verses 11-13 speak of the recovery of the lost cows and lustre of the Āṅgīrasa by Indra. Verses 16-18 speak of the fear caused by the moon or Rudra to Mercury called Dīrghatamas on account of his invisibility and to Mars called Agni, and of the safety of Aryaman, Jupiter, after his revival from the occultation. Then verses 19 to 27 speak of the arrival of Nābhānediṣṭha at the close of the tenth month and of the departure of the Āṅgīrasa to heaven, and of the reappearance of Subandhu, the Āṅgīrasa, just at the vicinity of Hastā in full glory recovered by the shower of nectar from the cow spoken of above.

This is the sum and substance of the six Sūktas from 57 to 67. Unless we have in our mind all that is meant by the Satra of Āṅgīrasas and the functions discharged by Nābhānediṣṭha in that Satra year after year it is impossible to understand the meaning of the Sūktas. The cyclic nature of the Satra is clearly mentioned in verse 18 where the Āṅgīrasa says that he does not know the number of Āṅgīrasas that came before him.

The latitudes and longitudes of the four planets at the epoch of Jupiter's occultation by the moon, as revised by Mr. HIND are as follows :—

<i>Planet.</i>	<i>Planet's longitude.</i>				<i>Longitude of lunar mansion.</i>	
Mercury	31	..	..	20 Rohiṇī.
Venus	100	..	..	100 Maghā.
Jupiter	113	..	..	113 P. Phalgunī.
Mars	225	..	..	233 P. Aśādhā.

1. Mercury in conjunction with the moon about April 17, B.C. 1424.
2. Venus in conjunction with the moon about August 20, B.C. 1425.
3. Jupiter occulted by the moon about April 22, B.D. 1424.
4. Mars in conjunction with the moon about August 18, B.C. 1424.

Lakṣmaṇa is the second of the four brothers, and likewise Subandhu is also the second of the four brothers; the trance or death of both is due to their Yuddha (astronomical term for conjunction) with the moon. The scene of Subandhu's death is Pūrvaphalgunī, as shown above, and it exactly corresponds to the scene found by astronomical calculations. The trance or death is premature and prior to his departure to heaven. If this is not the intended meaning of the allegorical stories of the four brothers and Nābhānediṣṭha and if this is not the subject-matter of the Vedic hymns referred to above, then not merely the Vedic passages under consideration, but also the whole of the Vedas must for ever remain as a kind of gibberish of incantation, for there is no passage in the Vedas which is not connected with the seven planets one way or other.

Mysore.

R. SHAMASASTRY.

REVIEW

पाणिनीयशब्दाऽनुशासनम् अथवा महाराष्ट्रियाऽष्टाध्यायी । (स्वोपज्ञटीकयोपेता) तत्र
अध्यायत्रय्यात्मकः प्रथमो भागः । लेखकः—“महाराष्ट्रियः” प्रकाशकः—पाटणकरोपाहो नारायणतनूजी
रामकृष्णशर्मा । प्रकाशनस्थलम्—राजापुरम् (जिल्हा रत्नागिरिः) । मूल्यं रूपकत्रयम् ।

The author in his Sanskrit preface (*prāstāvikam*) develops a well-sustained argument establishing the utility of a manual of Sanskrit grammar like the one under review :—The Sanskrit Language may not be one of the current languages but it is certainly not a dead one like Latin, for example, since it is the sacramental language of every Hindu and as such, is in daily use. The study of Sanskrit grammar thus serves a double purpose. It enables us not only to understand and assimilate the vast literature embodied in Sanskrit but also to follow intelligently the Sanskrit formulæ inseparable from our ritual. In the field of Sanskrit grammar, Pāṇini's *Śabdānuśāsana*, commented on by Kātyāyana in his *Vārttikas* and later by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* holds a unique place. But the chief peculiarity of Pāṇini's system is that it is based on a number of special *Samjñās* and *paribhāṣās* (or technical terms) postulated by him and as these constitute a stumbling block to a lay beginner, a number of Sanskrit manuals have been prepared which 'bypass' these *paribhāṣās* ! The latter alternative is hardly the right approach to a solution of the problem. The way out of this impasse (the author claims) is shown by his work, which seeks to explain in verse-form, the technical terms and rules of Pāṇini. The author follows up his verses with his own Commentary.

The author has set a very laudable aim before himself and his performance has not fallen short of his promise. There was a time when the complexity and elaboration of Sanskrit grammatical terminology was a powerful deterrent even to a pro-Sanskrit layman. This was one extreme. The other was reached, when the movement for popularizing the teaching of Sanskrit so brilliantly initiated by Dr. BHANDARKAR's two books of Sanskrit, gathered momentum and culminated in the preparation of Sanskrit Manuals which introduced the 'direct method' in the teaching of Sanskrit and which steered clear even of the more important grammatical terms so frequently employed by Sanskrit commentators ! The work before us represents the golden mean. It were to be wished that the Sanskrit *prāstāvikam* and *maṅgalam* were not marred by a few blemishes (see the first sentence of the *prāstāvikam* for example), which, we hope, are just slips of the pen. Nor do we appreciate the indulgence that the author craves for some metrical irregularities in his verses, embodying as they do, rules of grammar. Having said this, however, we feel very happy to congratulate the author on the production of such an extremely useful book on Sanskrit grammar. We strongly recommend it to the notice of all students and teachers of Sanskrit.

V. M. APTE.

SULAPĀṆĪ, THE SAHUDIYAN

By

SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE, Dacca.

The name Śūlapāṇi is often met with in the Indian Literature. In his *Catalogus Catalogorum* AUFRECHT refers to as many as five Śūlapāṇis. But here we are concerned only with the smārta Śūlapāṇi of Bengal. Our knowledge about him is limited to the learned paper of Manmohan CHAKRAVARTI, entitled "Contribution to the History of Smṛti in Bengal and Mithilā" which appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XI, 1915 (p. 311). The writer of that paper had necessarily to suffer from a disadvantage, because at that time most of Śūlapāṇi's works existed in mere names and in manuscripts. The object of the present paper is to state the facts that have since been known chiefly with regard to his works.

Besides being a very able commentator Śūlapāṇi was also the author of well over a dozen original treatises dealing with a variety of topics related to Smṛti. The names of his original works end in "Viveka", just as those of Raghunandana have the usual ending "tattva"—a fact which has led some scholars to suppose, though without much justification, that these works formed different parts of a huge digest named *Smṛti-viveka*. From the nature of the Mss. preserved to us it does not seem that Śūlapāṇi wrote anything like the *Smṛti-viveka* because each of the Mss. is copied individually; even those dealing with allied subjects are not copied together. Furthermore, the word *Smṛti-viveka* is nowhere to be found in any of the Mss. found till now. It is also to be noted that there is no reference to the *Smṛti-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi in any well-known Smṛti work.

It is difficult, almost impossible, to ascertain the exact number of books written by Śūlapāṇi. The following original works are generally attributed to Śūlapāṇi by different authorities on the subject.

Original Treatises of Śūlapāṇi

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Anu-maraṇa-viveka. | 5. Durgotsava-viveka. ³ |
| 2. Caturāṅga-Dīpikā. | 6. Durgotsava-prayoga-viveka. |
| 3. Dattaka-putra-vidhi. ¹ | 7. Dola-yātrā-viveka. ⁴ |
| 4. Dattaka-viveka. ² | |

1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*—

2. *Notices of Sk. Mss.* by R. L. MITRA—Vol. VI, p. 129 (No. 2065).

3. Ed. Skt. *Sāhitya Pariṣat*, Calcutta, 1331 B.S.

4. Ed. S. C. BANERJEE, *Kane Festschrift Volume*, Poona, 1941.

काशीर संग्रह ग्रन्थे मुद्रित, Saka 1814—[D. C. BHATTACHERJEE in *Bhāratavarsa Māgha*, 1348 B.S.]

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 8. Ekādaśī-viveka. ⁵ | 16. Saṃkrānti-viveka. ¹¹ |
| 9. Kāla-viveka. | 17. Saṃvatsara-pradīpa. ¹² |
| 10. Paṇṇa-nara-dāha-viveka. | 18. Śrāddha-viveka. ¹³ |
| 11. Pratiṣṭhā-viveka. ⁶ | 19. Śuddhi-viveka. |
| 12. Prāyaścitta-viveka. ⁷ | 20. Tithi-viveka ¹⁴ |
| 13. Rāsa-yātrā-viveka. ⁸ | 21. Eithi-dvaita-prakaraṇa. ¹⁵ |
| 14. Samaya-vidhāna. ⁹ | 22. Vāsantī-viveka. ¹⁶ |
| 15. Saṃbandha-viveka. ¹⁰ | 23. Vratakāla-viveka. ¹⁷ |

The following table will show the works mentioned or omitted by different scholars :—

NAMES OF WORKS	M. CAKRAVARTI	KANE	AUFRECHT	DINES BHATTACHERJI
Dattaka-putra-vidhi.....	×	×	—	×
Dattaka-viveka.....	—	—	—	—
Durgotsava-viveka.....	—	—	—	—
Durgotsava-prayoga-viveka.....	×	—	×	—
Dola-yātrā-viveka.....	—	—	—	—
Ekādaśī-viveka.....	—	—	—	—
Pratiṣṭhā-viveka.....	—	—	×	—
Prāyaścitta-viveka.....	—	—	—	—
Śrāddha-viveka.....	—	—	—	—
Saṃkrānti-viveka.....	—	—	—	—
Samaya-vidhāna.....	×	×	—	×
Saṃbandha-viveka.....	—	—	—	—
Śuddhi-viveka.....	—	—	×	—

5. *Notices of Sk. Mss.* by ŚĀSTRĪ, Vol. I, No. 37.

Cal. Sk. Coll. Ms., II, 563R. The final colophon runs thus—

इति श्रीमहामहोपाध्यायशूलपाणिविरचित एकादशीविवेकः समाप्तः

[J. A. S. B.—Vol. XI, 1915 (p. 337—footnote).]

6. Ind. Govt. No. 114.

7. Ed. J. VIDYĀSĀGARA, Calcutta, 1893.

8. S. C. BANERJĪ, *Sk. Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Oct., 1941.

9. *A Cat. of Sk. Mss.* in the Private Libraries of N. W. Provinces, I, No. 94, Benares, 1874.

10. Ed. J. B. CHOUDHURI, *Sk. Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, May and June, 1941.

11. काशीर संमहे मुद्रित —pp. 149-56 (*Bhāratavarṣa, Māgha*, 1348 B.S., p. 190).

12. *Dacca University Ms.* No. 4632 (Incomplete at the end). A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected paper Mss. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, I, No. 1475 (ख) (dated Saka 1487).

13. Ed. Candīcarāṇa SMRTIBHUṢANA, Calcutta, 1314 B.S.

14. Ed. S. C. BANERJĪ, *Poona Orientalist*—Oct. 1941 & Jan. 1942.

15. *Notices of Sk. Mss.* by ŚĀSTRĪ, II, No. 86, and IX, No. 3155 (Tithi-dvaidha-nirṇaya-prakaraṇam vā Tithi-vivekaḥ).

16. Ed. *Sk. Sāhitya Pariṣat*, Calcutta, 1331 B.S., Series No. 7.

17. Ed. S. C. BANERJĪ, *I. H. Q.*, Dec. 1941.

NAMES OF WORKS.	M. CHAKRAVARTI	KANE	AUFRECHT	DINES BHATTACHERJI
Tithi-viveka.....	—	—	—	—
Vrata-kāla-viveka.....	—	—	—	—
Vāsanti-viveka.....	×	×	—	×
Rasa-yātrā-viveka.....	—	—	—	—
Samvatsara-pradīpa.....	×	×	—	×
Anu-marāṇa-viveka.....	×	×	×	—
Kāla-viveka.....	×	×	×	—
Parṇa-nara-dāha-viveka.....	×	×	×	—
Caturaṅga-dīpika.....	×	×	×	—
Tithi-dvaita-prakaraṇam.....	×	×	—	×

[In the above list the mark (×) indicates the book omitted.]

From the above table we learn that only eleven books are unanimously considered as the works of Sūlapāṇi while the other twelve are disputed. Of the disputed books (1) the Dattaka-putra-vidhi, (2) the Samaya-vidhāna, (3) the Samvatsara-pradīpa, (4) the Caturaṅga-dīpika, and (5) the Tithi-dvaita-prakaraṇam do not seem to be the works of Sūlapāṇi for the simple reason that their names do not end in “viveka” while all of the undisputed works of Sūlapāṇi have that ending. Again the mere presence of the word “Viveka” in the case of the other disputed works viz.

1. Durgotsava-prayoga-viveka
2. Pratiṣṭhā-viveka
3. Śuddhi-viveka
4. Vāsanti-viveka
5. Anumarāṇa-viveka
6. Kāla-viveka
7. Parṇanara-dāha-viveka

does not necessarily prove them to be the works of Sūlapāṇi, the renowned Smārta of Bengal, because, as pointed out above, there were as many as five Sūlapāṇis. Then again with ancient writers “viveka” was a favourite word which was often associated with the names of their works, as for instance,

1. Agha-viveka of Nīlakaṇṭha-dīkṣita.
2. Adbhuta-viveka of Mahīdhara.
3. Ācara-viveka of Madanasīṃha.
4. Śuddhi-viveka of Rudradhara.
5. Kāla-viveka of Jīmūtavāhana.
6. Dvaita-viśaya-viveka of Vardhamāna.

Such instances of ancient works having the word “viveka” at the ends of their names may be multiplied.

Let us now consider the works of Sūlapāṇi in some detail.

The alleged works of Śūlapāṇi.

1. *The Dattaka-putra-vidhi.*

Besides the reasons given above this book does not seem to be of Śūlapāṇi on the additional ground that the composition of this book appears unnecessary when the Dattaka-viveka of the same author exists.

2. *The Samaya-vidhāna.*

3. *The Saṃvatsara-pradīpa*

Besides the absence of the word "viveka" in the name of this book there is another ground on which it does not seem to be the work of Śūlapāṇi. While referring to his own works Śūlapāṇi usually writes as प्रायश्चित्त-विवेकेऽनुसंधेयम् or विवेके प्रपञ्चितमेतत्. In the case of books written by others he generally quotes verses or passages from them.¹⁸ In his Durgotsava-viveka where Śūlapāṇi refers to the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa he cites verses from it—a fact which tends to show that the author of the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa was not Śūlapāṇi but somebody else. Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi in his Durgotsava-viveka¹⁹ attributes a Saṃvatsara-pradīpa to one Dhanañjaya. This confirms our doubt that the book was not written by Śūlapāṇi in spite of AUFRECHT's view to the contrary. Raghunandana, in his *Suddhi-tattva* and *Ekādaśi-tattva*, assigns a Saṃvatsara-pradīpa to one Halāyūdhā. It will not be very proper to suppose that a critical scholar like Raghunandana misrepresented the tradition. The beginning and colophon of the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa, noticed by Śāstrī, do not bear any sign of the work having been composed by Śūlapāṇi.

4. *The Caturāṅga-dīpikā.*

DINES BHATTACHERJI (*Bhāratavarṣa*, Magha, 1348 B.S., p. 190) says that it is being published in Calcutta, and is not very sure as to whether the above Śūlapāṇi was the author of this book.

5. *The Tithi-dvāita (or dvaidha-prakarana).*

This book appears to be the same as the *Tithi-viveka*. One of the two Mss. belonging to the Dacca University has तिथिद्वैधप्रकरण in the colophon and the word तिथिविवेकः on the margin of each folio. The colophon to the other Ms. designates the book as तिथिविवेकः.

6. *Durgotsava-prayoga-viveka.*

Excepting that the name of this book ends with "viveka" and that Śūlapāṇi refers to it in the fashion in which he refers to his own works there is no more solid ground for supposing this work to be of Śūlapāṇi. In page

18. Cp. तीर्थचिन्तामणौ ब्रह्मपुराणम्—

नरो दोलयितं दृष्ट्वा गोविन्दं पुरुषोत्तमम् (*Dola-viveka*, p. 59).

19. Ed. *Skt. Sāhitya Pariṣat*, Calcutta, 1331 B.S. Series No. 7 (p. 44).

15 of the *Durgotsava-viveka* Śūlapāṇi refers to a *Prayoga-viveka*²⁰ which is perhaps identical with the *Durgotsava-prayoga-viveka*. Possibly *Durgotsava-viveka* is Śūlapāṇi's, but not this *Durgotsava-prayoga-viveka*.

7. *Pratiṣṭhā-viveka*.

M. CAKRAVARTĪ says that it treats of the consecration of idols. Besides references to this work in the *Durgotsava-viveka* (Cp. प्रपञ्चस्तु प्रतिष्ठाविवेकेऽनुसंधेयः p. 23) and in the *Vrāta-kāla-viveka*²¹ there is no evidence as to the existence of any such book. Mr. CAKRAVARTĪ points out that the M.s. Ind. Govt. No. 114 is entered as *Pratiṣṭhā-viveka* according to the final colophon, but it is really a Ms. of the *Vrāta-kāla-viveka* as the introduction and the text show.

8. *Suddhi-viveka*.

It is referred to in the *Durgotsava-viveka* and in the *Suddhi-kaumudī* of Govindānanda. No Ms. of this work has as yet been found.

9. *Vāsantī-viveka*.²²

Besides the printed edition by the Sk. Sahitya Pariṣat, Calcutta, only one Ms. of this work has been found. It is to be noted that the colophon to the printed edition of this book does not contain the word "Sāhuḍiyān" which is almost invariably used before Śūlapāṇi's name in the colophons to his other works. The *Vāsantī-viveka*, as we have it in the Sāhitya Pariṣat edition, is contained in two printed pages and is written in the fashion of the *Durgotsava-viveka*. It is simply a commentary on certain verses quoted from *Garga*, *Nandikeśvara-purāṇa*, *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, *Linga-purāṇa*, *Padma-purāṇa*, *Sāra-samuccaya* and *Kāṭhaka-grhya*. Its merit is not very great.

Towards the end of the *Durgotsava-viveka* Śūlapāṇi gives in brief the rules of *Durgā-pūjā* in spring (cp. अथ वसन्तकालीनं दुर्गापूजा etc.),²³ and simply refers to the rules common to the शारदीया and the वासन्तीपूजा instead of repeating them over again. It may be noted that although so much is common to both the शारदीया and the वासन्तीपूजा yet nowhere do the *Durgotsava-viveka* and the *Vāsantī-viveka* mention each other—a fact which probably shows that these two works were not of the same author. As regards the *Durgotsava-viveka*, however, it is a well-known work of Śūlapāṇi.

10. *Anu-maṇa-viveka*.

DINES BHATTACHERJĪ (*Bhārata-varṣa*, Māgha, 1348 B.S.) says that this book consisting of only 4 folios is in the possession of Sādhāraṇa Pāṭhāgāra, Navadvīpa.

20. पूजादिप्रमाणं प्रयोगविवेकेऽनुसंधेयम् —*Durgotsava-viveka* (p. 15).

21. Cp. प्रतिष्ठाविधानं च प्रतिष्ठाविवेकेऽनुसंधेयम् (p. 24).

22. *Notices of Skt. Mss.* by H. P. ŚĀSTRĪ, Vol. I, No. 331.

23. Page 26.

11. *Kāla-viveka*.

There is no Ms. of this work. It is referred to in the *Durgotsava-viveka*.²⁴ The reference may be to the well-known work of Jimūtavāhana.

But in the *Durgotsava-viveka* Śūlapāṇi generally refers to Jimūtavāhana by name, and quotes passages from his works while he simply refers to the *Kāla-viveka*. Once in the *Durgotsava-viveka* Śūlapāṇi writes गृहीतमधुपर्कस्य यजमानस्य ऋतुविजः—इतिव्याख्यानावसरे कालविवेके प्रपञ्चितमेतत्²⁵ But the *Kāla-viveka* of Jimūtavāhana does not quote this line. These facts raise a doubt that this *Kāla-viveka* was different from Jimūtavāhana's book bearing this name, and might have been a work of Śūlapāṇi.

12. *Parṇa-nara-dāha-viveka*.

Dines BHATTACHERJĪ possesses a copy of this work (*Bhāratavarṣa*, Māgha, 1348 B.S.)

Besides the above there are two more works the authorship of which is doubtful. The Descriptive Catalogue of Mss. in Mithilā (page 25, No. 28) mentions a work named *Ācāra-Śūlapāṇi* and describes it as dealing with one's duties from morning till the time of going to bed. The description of the book (Fols. 165) along with the absence of the usual colophon tends to indicate that it is nothing but the portion of Śūlapāṇi's *Dīpakalikā* commenting on the *Ācāra-adhyāya* of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, preserved separately.

The Catalogue of the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras (R. 745 C), mentions a book named *Brahma-kūṛca-pañca-gavya-vidhi* under Śūlapāṇi.

None of the above two Mss. was available at the time of writing this paper. To an enquiry regarding the latter Ms. the Curator of the Oriental Mss. Library replies :—

In the Ms. itself it is not stated that Śūlapāṇi is its author, but as it is found in combination with works stated to be Śūlapāṇi's, he is mentioned as the author in the Catalogue. It may be pointed out that the absence of any other book named *Brahma-kūṛca-pañca-gavya-vidhi* and the mode of reference to this work in the third chapter of Śūlapāṇi's *Dīpakalikā* (cp. ब्रह्मकूर्चोक्तमवगन्तव्यम् Cal. Sk. College Ms. No. II, 789, Fol. 71a) lead one to suppose that this work might have been written by Śūlapāṇi.

UNDISPUTED WORKS OF ŚŪLAPĀṆĪ.

1. *Dola-yātrā-viveka*.

This book, perhaps the smallest work of the author, covering about seven printed pages purports to be a manual for the guidance of priests in the per-

24. Cp. कालविवेके प्रपञ्चितमेतत्
एतद् विवृतं कालविवेके

25. Page 4.

formance of the great Spring Festival, called *Dolayātrā* (lit. the festival of swinging). The major part of the work is taken up by a few quotations, often lengthy, from the *Skanda-purāṇa*, the *Brahma-purāṇa* and the *Devī-purāṇa* relating to the construction and decoration of the platform and the altar (*vedikā*), the procedure to be adopted in performing the festival, e.g. the taking of God's image to the altar, the time of the festival, the religious efficacy of participating in it, and so on.

The real merit and importance of the work lie in the fact that after discussing the various conflicting opinions as to the precise time of holding the festival *Sūlapāṇi*, within a very narrow space and in a popular style, clearly sets forth his own independent conclusions regarding this particular aspect of the festival.

We do not know any other parallel work. References are, however, found to a *Dola-yātrāmṛta* of Nārāyaṇa Tarkācārya and to a *Dolārohaṇa-paddhati* of Vidyānīvāsa.

2. *Vrata-kāla-viveka*.

The *Vrata-kāla-viveka*, as the very name suggests, deals chiefly with the time of observance of *Vratas* (fasts). The book can be clearly divided into two distinct parts.

The first part deals with *Vratas* in general while the second with certain particular *Vratas*. After the usual salutation the author describes the nature of *Vratas*. Then follows a lengthy quotation on the time of commencing and concluding (*pratiṣṭhā*) the *Vratas*. The author then introduces a discussion on the conduct and procedure of *Vratas*. After this he dwells upon the consequences of not observing a *Vrata*, once taken, and also upon bars to the observation of *Vratas*. Next he lays down the rules for those who have taken a vow but are unable to observe it due to physical disabilities. He then cites several authorities condemning some practices on the day of observing a vow. This is followed by an elaborate discussion on the proper time for observing and breaking (*pārāṇa*) fasts—the really important part of the work inasmuch as the author puts forth his own views here much more than anywhere else in the book.

The second part gives rules for the following *Vratas* the rules being mainly concerned with the time of observing them :—

- | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-------------|----------------------|------------|
| (1) दूर्वाष्टमी | (2) बुधाष्टमी | (3) रामनवमी | (4) मनसा | (5) कृष्ण- |
| जन्माष्टमी | (6) एकादशी | (7) द्वादशी | (8) सावित्रीचतुर्दशी | (9) अनन्त |
| (10) शिवरात्रि | (11) कार्तिकेय | | | |

It is interesting to note that these dozen *Vratas* by no means exhaust the long list of the *Vratas* observed by the Hindus.

The *Vrata-kāla-viveka*, like the other minor *vivekas* of the author, is practically a running commentary on important passages of authoritative texts. Hence the bulk of the work is devoted to quotations, sometimes very

lengthy, from various authorities on the subject. The merit of the work lies in a skilful compilation of diverse materials scattered hither and thither and in making a unified and systematic work out of a confused mass of details. The work has a unique interest in the sense that of the extant nibandhas it is perhaps the first to enumerate the popular Vratas and to systematise the rules of observing them.

Indeed in the whole range of the nibandha literature, barring Jimūta-vāhana's *Kālaviveka*, there is hardly any earlier work which touches upon the subject so elaborately dealt with by Śūlapāṇi in his *Vratākālaviveka*. Yet the proper time for religious observances was by no means a subject to be neglected by the Hindus of bygone days. The *Kālaviveka*, however, unlike the *Vratākālaviveka*, deals with topics of general interest, such as, अधिमास-निरूपणम्, संक्रान्तिनिरूपणम्, पुण्यतिथयः ग्रहणकालनिरूपणम् etc., and has nothing to do with the appropriate time of observing vows. It is true that Raghunandana in his *Vratatattvam* takes up the same subject as that of Śūlapāṇi. But a comparison of the *Vratatattvam* with the *Vratākāla-viveka* reveals, even to the most superficial observer, that the former is simply modelled on the latter so far as the general procedure of the Vratas is concerned. At least the inference is irresistible that Raghunandana also drew upon the same sources as utilised by Śūlapāṇi, and could not make any appreciable improvement upon his predecessor. Hence the credit of systematising the rules of Vratas for the first time must go to Śūlapāṇi.

The *Vratākāla-viveka* and the *Vratatattva*, though essentially the same, differ from each other in the fact that while the former is concerned chiefly with the proper time of observing Vratas the latter does not pay much attention to the subject, and dwells at great length on the procedure of abandoning the Vratas (Pratiṣṭhā). Another feature which sharply distinguishes these two works is that while Śūlapāṇi considers the rules of certain individual Vratas, Raghunandana contents himself by merely laying down rules for Vratas in general.

There may be some who would try to minimise the importance of Śūlapāṇi's work by arguing that it shows little or no originality of the author. Such a criticism would, however, not be very fair. A nibandhakāra as Śūlapāṇi is, his chief business is to make a compendium for the guidance of the priests as well as of the lay public and as a nibandhakāra he undoubtedly gives a very good account of himself.

The *Vratākāla-viveka* may safely be regarded as a late work of the author as it mentions at least two of his own works, viz., the *Tithi-viveka* and the *Pratiṣṭhā-viveka*.

A glance at the verses quoted in the work will show that besides the *Dharmaśāstras* and the *Purāṇas* the author quotes from various *Smṛti* and *Jyotiṣa* works many of which are either unknown or only known in quotations. The paucity or obsolescence of these authorities is an argument for the antiquity of this work and indicate that it must have been written at an early period of the development of what is known as the Nibandha Literature.

3.—*Sambandha-viveka*.

Śūlapāṇi's discussion of marriage commences with the well-known verse of Manu, viz., असपिण्डा च या मातुः²⁶, etc. Having explained this verse he goes on to define 'sapinḍa'. Here again he quotes Manu as his authority and incidentally cites verses from the Kūrma-purāṇa, Matsya-purāṇa, Saṃkha and Likhita dealing with the subject. Then follows a rather lengthy discussion as to the precise connotation of the words 'sapinḍa' and 'samānodaka.' Then in a verse from the Ādipurāṇa *sapinḍatā* among the castes other than the Brahmins is determined. Finally a verse has been cited to show that among all the castes (varṇa) *sapinḍatā* extends down to the seventh generation (साप्तपौरुषी सपिण्डता) and then begins *samānodakatā* (ततः पश्चात् समानोदकधर्मेति). This is followed by a discussion, based on various authorities, of special cases when *sapinḍatā* extends to the third, eighth or tenth generation. Next we find, on the authority of Vyāsa, Manu and Vājñavalkya, the relations which are prohibited in marriage.

Among the qualifications of a girl, fit to be married, besides that of permissible relationship, the following are essential :—

- (i) अनन्यपूर्विका—not betrothed to or enjoyed by anyone.
- (ii) कान्ता—charming.
- (iii) यवोयसी—younger than the husband.
- (iv) अरोगिणी—free from disease.
- (v) भ्रातृमती—having a brother or brothers.

Of these the significance of the last qualification is explained with reference to Manu. This is to remove the doubt as to whether the girl is a *putrikāputra*.

Śūlapāṇi enjoins the vow named Cāndrāyaṇa in addition to the desertion of the wife, in the case of marrying a girl prohibited by the Śāstras. A maintenance is, however, allowed to the forsaken wife. Next the word *bāndhava* is defined. We are brought to the end of the book by a protracted discussion, of an academic nature, as to the relations permissible or forbidden in marriage.

In a word the *Sambandha-viveka* aims at determining precisely the connotations of the words *sapinḍa*, *samānodaka*, and *bāndhava* with reference to marriage and tries to ascertain the relations permissible or forbidden therein.

In his more elaborate work, the उद्गाहतत्त्व, which corresponds to the *Sambandha-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi, Raghunandana, like his predecessor, bases his discussion on the same well-known verse of Manu. An attempt has been made to define विवाह and also to ascertain the precise act by which a marriage can be said to have been performed.

Next the words *sapiṇḍa*, *Samānodaka* and *bāndhava* are defined with reference to some authorities of whom the chief are those mentioned by Śūlapāṇi.

The atonement for marrying a prohibited girl is enjoined, and the prohibited and permissible relations are then discussed to a great length. In a discussion extending over about a dozen printed pages, which the author designates as *saṃkṣepa*, he repeats his views on the relation, prohibited and permissible in marriage, on the qualifications and disqualifications of the bride and the groom, and also on the effects of marriage at particular periods.

The topic next dealt with is the persons entitled to give away a girl in marriage. They are the following in order of preference :—

1. Father, 2. Grand-father, 3. Brother, 4. Sakulya, 5. Maternal grand-father.

The great condition is that these persons must be free from the two faults of (i) *pātitya*—apostasy, and (ii) *unmāda*—insanity.

Incidentally the author describes the nature of different kinds of marriage according to Manu, viz. *Brāhma*, *Ārṣa*, etc. Next he considers the effect of the death of the proposed bride-groom at any time beginning from betrothal.

The rest of the book is devoted to miscellaneous topics, e.g., the procedure of the marriage ceremony, the remedies in case one refuses to offer one's daughter after promising to do so, the duties of the husband and wife towards each other, the condemnation of the taking of dowry by the guardian, the divorce and even the murder of one's wife for certain faults, etc.

Although in bulk and matter the work of Raghunandana far excels that of Śūlapāṇi, yet the indebtedness of the former to the latter is undoubted. In the first place, Raghunandana's task of compiling the relevant authoritative texts, a strenuous task indeed at a time when there were no printed books and no indices, was much simplified by Śūlapāṇi who already collected these in one place in his book. Secondly, besides the small passages of Śūlapāṇi which Raghunandana incorporates in his book without acknowledgment, there are frequent references to the views of Śūlapāṇi expressed in his following books—a fact which amply bears out the deep debt of gratitude owed by Raghunandana to his predecessor :—

1. Yājñavalkya-dīpakalikā, sometimes also called Yājñavalkya-īkā (4 times), 2. Śrāddha-viveka (2 times), 3. Prāyaścitta-viveka (3 times), 4. Saṃbandha-viveka (once).

Besides this Raghunandana in this book twice refers to Śūlapāṇi by name.

A remarkable feature of the Saṃbandha-viveka is the absence of the usual verse of salutation at the beginning of the book. The existing Mss. begin diversely as ॐ नमो गणेशाय, ॐ नमः सरस्वत्यै, etc. which evidently could

not have been written by Śūlapāṇi himself. The book begins directly as अथ संबन्धो विविच्यते, etc. Two reasons may explain this absence of the salutation-verse. First, it may be that the verse was lost in the process of time. Secondly, it perhaps formed a part of any other book. The first reason loses its force when we find that the salutation verse in the Dola-yātrā-viveka, presumably the earliest work of the author, could survive through centuries. The second reason also does not appear probable when we consider the absence of an allied work of Śūlapāṇi. If, however, it is supposed that the book was a part of the doubtful Smṛti-viveka the presence of salutation-verse in the other books of Śūlapāṇi becomes inexplicable.

4.—*Dattaka-viveka*

"A small treatise on adoption and its rules," says M. CHAKRAVARTI.²⁷ The Ms. of this work was not available to the writer of this paper. It may be noted that the colophon, as given in MITRA'S Notices,²⁸ does not contain the usual epithet "Sāhuḍiyān."

5.—*Ekādaśi-viveka*.

M. CHAKRAVARTI²⁹ gives the following information about the book :—

The eleventh lunar day was deemed important on account of the fast enjoined on that day both for widows and for the Vaiṣṇavas. I have seen only a fragment of the work in the last folio whereof are quoted verses from the Śiva-rahasya and the Viṣṇudharma. It is quoted in Govindānanda's Arthakaumudī, a commentary on Śrīnivāsa's Śuddhi-dīpikā.

6.—*Samkrānti-viveka*.

M. CHAKRAVARTI says³⁰ :—

It deals with the Samkrāntis or the times of sun's entrance into the zodiacal signs. It quotes the Nyāya-dīpikā of the philosopher Vācaspati Miśra, the Kalpa-taru, the Pārijāta, the Ratnākara and the Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi of Candēśvara.

7.—*Durgotsava-viveka*.

In this book Śūlapāṇi deals exhaustively with matters relating to the Durgā-pūjā. After mentioning the efficacy and harm respectively of the performance and non-performance of the Pūjā the author tells us who are entitled to perform it. It is interesting to note that even the Śūdras and other lower class people are allowed to worship Durgā. Then comes the period of the worship. Next follows a rather elaborate discussion as to the time of Bodhana. The author then dwells on the procedure of the worship

27. J. A. S. B., Vol. XI, 1915 (p. 338).

28. Vol. VI, No. 2065, (p. 129).

29. J. A. S. B., Vol. XI, 1915, (p. 337).

30. Ibid., p. 340.

on the *Saptamī*, *Aṣṭamī* and *Navamī* days as also on the great bath of the goddess by a number of articles, the worship at the juncture (*sandhi*) of *Aṣṭamī* and *Navamī* and the sacrifice of animals. In the midst of the above we are told the proper place of worship and certain incantations are mentioned in passing. The duties enjoined on the *Dasamī* day (दशमीकृत्य) are interesting. The goddess will be carried in a boat, and, amidst amusements of various sorts, will be thrown into current water. The ceremony of immersion being over people will abuse one another in the filthiest possible language and this is enjoined on pain of heavy penalty³¹ in the shape of the angry goddess's curse. On this day people are enjoined to participate in various sports such as throwing mud, etc. It may be pointed out that the autumnal worship of the goddess was performed by Rāma for victory over enemies, and these sports probably are the symbols of the rejoicings of a victorious army. Some of these sports survive even to this day in certain parts of Bengal.

The *Durgotsava-viveka* is a running commentary on certain verses quoted from various authorities chiefly from the purāṇas. The following purāṇas are mostly used by Śūlapāṇi—Kālikā, Devī, Bhaviṣya, Skanda, Liṅga, Bṛhannandikeśvara, Agni. Besides these there are a few quotations from the Smṛti, Jyotiṣa and Tantra works.

The works parallel to the *Durgotsava-viveka* are the following :—

1. *Durgotsava-viveka* of Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi³²
2. *Durgārcana-paddhati*³³ of Raghunandana.

Śrīnātha having to deal with the same subject had necessarily to utilise almost the same texts as used by Śūlapāṇi. In so far as the same sources were used by both the writers Śrīnātha may be said to have been influenced by Śūlapāṇi who collected the materials in one place. As a matter of fact the former made little or no improvement on the latter.

Raghunandana's book is a *paddhati* (procedure) and, as such, differs fundamentally from that of Śūlapāṇi which is a "viveka" (discussion).

It is interesting to note that all these three writers refer to the custom of abusing one another on the *Dasamī* day, which must have been regarded as a part of religious duty.

The other known writer of Bengal to deal with *Durgotsava* is Jimūtvāhana (in *Kālaviveka*³⁴). He utilises practically the same sources, and the influence of the earlier writer on the latter ones is obvious for it was certainly the earlier writers who made the path smoother and easier for their successors.

31. Cp. परैर्नाक्षिप्यते यस्तु परं नाक्षिपते तु यः ।

तस्य क्रद्धा भगवती शापं दद्यात् सुदारुणम् ॥ (p. 24).

32. Ed. *Sk. Sāhitya Pariṣat*, Calcutta, 1331 B. S.

33. Ed. J. VIDYĀSĀGARA, Calcutta, 1895.

34. *Bibliotheca Indica Series*, Calcutta, 1905.

MISCELLANEA

THE SECRET DOCTRINES OF THE ŚRĪVAISNAVAS

1. To the Spirit which has been rolling in *samsāra* from time immemorial, release from the cycle of births and deaths is quite a welcome change. The *adhyātma śāstras* deal mainly with the relationship of the material to the spiritual, and their chief avowed object is to help the Spirit to attain *salvati*. These *śāstras* explain the *Tattva*—the true relationship of the soul or *jīva* to the *Paramā* or Brahman, of the *hita* or the method of approaching the problem, and the *puruṣārtha* or object of attainment i.e. *mokṣa*. These eternal truths are expressed in a miniature and digestible form, in the three great secrets guarded closely by the *Ācāryas* or teachers and imparted by them to their pupils with due consideration and discernment.

2. The essence of these is contained in the shortest possible compass in the *Tirumantra*. This *mantra* consisting of eight letters* is divisible into three component parts, or words. Of these three, the first is the *Pranava* which is the quintessence of all *mantras*, and there can be no shorter way of expressing the great and eternal truth. The *pranava*, in its turn, is composed of three letters A, U and Ma.¹ The first letter represents the SUPREME who is the prime cause of the phenomenal universe, its great and unrivalled protector, the eternally existing Lord and the lord of *Mahālakṣmī*. His *svāmī* or lordship is the natural result of his eminence and is not dependent upon either an external agency and therefore consequent upon *upādhi*. The dative case which is understood in the letter A denotes the special relationship of the Supreme to the soul or *jīva*² namely : the

* On the section on *Aṣṭākṣara* see *Rahasyatrayasūtram*, pp. 187 to 229 Kumbakonam edn. Cf. *Vṛddha-Hārīta-Smṛiti* (Anandasrama Sanskrit Series, No. 48. *Smṛitīnām-Samuccaya* 1905), pp. 245—vv. 56-57.

Aṣṭākṣaram manum japtvā
Viṣṇusāyujyamāpnuṣyāt ||
Padatrayātmakam mantram
Caturthyā sahitam tathā |
Svarūpa sādhanopeyam
Iti matyā japed budhaḥ ||

1. *Ibid.* vv. 59-60.

Akāram cāpyukāram ca
Makāram ceti tattvataḥ |
Tānyekadhā samabhavāt
Tadomīty etaducyate ||
Tasmād om iti vijñeyāḥ
Pranavaḥ sāksarānvitāḥ ||

2. *Ibid.*, p. 250. *h.* 116.

Tasmāt caturthyā mantrasya
Pradhānam dāsyam ucyate |

also compare vv. 111 to 115.

Sarveṣu deśakāleṣu
Sarvāvasthāsu sarvadā |
Tasyaiva kiṅkaro, smṛiti |
Caturdhā paramātmanah ||
Bhagavatparicaryaiva
Jivānām phalam ucyate |
Tad vinā kim śarīreṇa
Yātanāsyā janasyatu ||
Yasmin śarīre Jivānām
Na dāsyam Paramātmanah |

Īśvara being the sole lord and the jīva being his exclusive³ servant. The middle letter has a special purpose to serve. While it is claimed that jīva is the sole servant of the Īśvara, this letter stands for the negative principle that the jīva cannot belong to any other than Śrīman Nārāyaṇa and his consort Lakṣmī. The third letter *Ma*⁴—in this group—stands for the jīva or Spirit who is the subject matter of the relationship mentioned previously, who is different from the mundane body (which he inhabits during the period of his life in this world) who is the object of the protection to be given by the lord and who by himself is the embodiment of knowledge and enjoyment and atomistic in size.

Thus the ultimate interpretation of the Praṇava would mean that this *Jīva* or Spirit is the sole property of the Lord, has no other Lord except Śrīman nārāyaṇa to whom he can consider himself as a servant to a master. In every respect the Spirit is the servant of the Īśvara alone.⁵

3. The middle word *Namaḥ*⁶ contains two letters⁴ as well as words. It explains two aspects of the conceptions of Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy namely :

Tadeva nirayam Proktaṃ
Sarvaduḥkhaḥphalam bhavet |
Dāsyam eva Phalam Viṣṇoḥ
Dāsyam eva param sukṣham |
Dāsyam eva Harer mokṣam
Dāsyam eva param tapaḥ ||
Brahmādyāḥ sakalā devāḥ
Vasiṣṭādyā maharṣayaḥ |
Kāṅkṣantaḥ paramam dāsyam
Viṣṇor eva yajanti tam ||

3. *Ibid.*, p. 249. v. 85.

Svasvāminor ukāreṇa
Hyavadhāraṇamucyate |

4. *Ibid.*, p. 248. v. 62 :

Makārustu bhavet jīvaḥ
Tayor dāsa udāhṛtaḥ |
Pañca vimśākṣaraḥ sāksāt

5. *Ibid.*, p. 249. vv. 80-85.

Dāsyam evātmanām Viṣṇoḥ
Svarūpam paramātmanaḥ
Sāmyam Lakṣmīpateḥ proktaṃ
Devādinām tathātmanām |
Ananya Śeṣarūpa vai
Jīvās tasya jagatpateḥ |
Dāsyam svarūpam sarveṣām
Ātmanām satatam Hareḥ |
Bhagavat Śeṣamātmanam
Anyathā yaḥ prapadyate |
Sa eva hi mahā papi
Cāṇḍālas syān na saṁśayaḥ ||
Tasmān *makāravācyo* sau
Pañcavimśātmakaḥ pumān |
Akāra-vācyasyeśasya
Dāsyam eva vidhiyate ||
Anujñānāśrayo nityo
Nirvikāro śvyayaḥ sadā |
Dehendriyāt Paro Jñātā.
Kartā Bhoktā sanātanaḥ
Makāra-vācyo Jīvo'sau
Dāsa eva hi sarvaḥ |
Śrī śaśyākāra vācyasya
Viṣṇorasya jagatpateḥ ||

6. *Ibid.*, p. 249-50, vv. 93-102.

Namasā procyate tasmin
Ahantā mamatojjhitam |

(1) I am not my own master ; (2) nor in the carrying out of my desire independent of other control. The kernel of the doctrine that underlies this aspect is the *Bhāgavataśaṭva*. It also aims at pointing out the main upāya of *Sarapā-gati* to the Lord. (Prapatti or self-surrender.) It further prays for extrication from those sins that act as impediments to the attainment of salvation. In this manner the word *NAMAḤ* itself explains the tatva, hita and puruṣārtha, true knowledge, the upāya and the object of attainment so much longed for.

4. The third word *Nārāyaṇa* is understood in one of two ways :—as the *ayana* to the *Nārās* or tattvas, or the abode of the *Nā* is or tattvas.⁷ It further

Svarūpādi trivargasya
 Samsiddhir namaśaivahi ||
 Namaśā rahitam sarvam
 Viphalam parikirtitam |
 Namaśaiva hi samsiddhir
 Bhavedatra na saṁśayaḥ ||
 Purataḥ Prṣṭataścaiva
 Pārsvataśca viśeṣataḥ |
 Nama Saivekṣyate rājam
 Trivargas sarva dehinām ||
 Makārena svatantras scāt
 Nakāraṣṭān niṣiddhyati |
 Tasmacca nama ity atra
 Svātantryamapanodati ||
 Dvyakṣarastu bhaven mṛtyuḥ
 Tryakṣarastu hi śāśvatam |
 Mamehi dvyakṣaram mṛtyuḥ
 Na mamehi hi Śāśvatam ||
 Na mameti his sarvatra
 Svātantrya rahitāya vai |
 Yujyate munibhiḥ sāmyak
 Sarva karmasu pārthiva ||
 Tasmāttu namaśā yuktāḥ
 Sarve mantrāśca Pārthiva |
 Sarva siddhi pradā nṛṇām
 Bhavantiyatra na saṁśayaḥ ||
 Namaśā rahitā ye hi
 Natu muktī pradā nṛṇām |
 Tasmātu Namaśaiveṣām
 Pāratantrya tuamiṣitūḥ ||
 Pāratantryāllabheṣ siddhim
 Svātantryānnāśa meṣyati ||
 Dāṣyam eva hi Jivānām
 Procyate namaśaiva tu |
 Namaśā rahitam loke
 kiñcidatra na vidyate ||

7. *Ibid.*, p. 250. vv. 104-110.

Kṣayairakāraiḥ samproktoḥ
 Nakāraṣṭam niṣiddhyati |
 Tasmāttu Nara ityatra
 Nityatvenocyate janāḥ ||
 Nārā iti samūhatve
 Bāhulyatvāt janasya ca |
 Teṣāmayanamāvāśaḥ
 Tena Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ ||
 Mahābhūtānyahamkāro
 Mahadavyaktam eva ca |
 Andam tadantar gatā ye
 Lokāḥ sarve caturdaśa ||
 Pravāharūpenaveśā
 Nāratvenocyate budhaiḥ |
 Teṣāmapi nivāsatvāt
 Nārāyaṇa itiritāḥ |

denotes the *Īśvara* with all his attributes such as being the root-cause of the entire universe and who is the Lord of *Śrī* or *Lakṣmī*.⁸ The use of the dative⁹ in the first interpretation is primarily meant to show the fruit of the *kainkarya* or service to the Lord. This is clearly brought out in the Tamil *pasuram* :

ozhivilkākamellā muḍanāyi manni vazhivilāvaḍumai ceyyaveṇḍum nām
which may be rendered thus :¹⁰

We the *Jīvas* should at all times—without any separation whatsoever—be with the Lord permanently, serve him and so serve him there that the prospect of a *cyuti* or coming back to mundane existence is totally absent.

*The Dvaya Mantra*¹¹

5. What has thus been stated briefly in the *Tirumantra* in regard to *tattva*, *hita* and *paraśārtha* is more elaborately explained in the *Dvaya mantra*. It consists of two parts, the *pūrva* and *uttara khaṇḍas*, the *pūrva khaṇḍa* consisting of one *vākya* and the *uttara khaṇḍa* containing two *vākyas*. The *pūrva khaṇḍa* treats of the *upāya* or method while the *uttara khaṇḍa* treats of the *upēya* or the goal of attainment. Each of the *pūrva* and *uttara khaṇḍas* contain three distinct (parts or) words.

6. In the first part, the three words are joined together and form one *vākya*. The word *Śrīmat* in this, is intended to denote the inseparable nature of *Śrī* or *Lakṣmī* from *Nārāyaṇa* and indicates *Nārāyaṇa* with *Śrī*.¹²

Antarbahiśca Jagato
Dhātā vyāptā sanātanaḥ ||
Śraśtha niyantā śaranam
Vidhātā viśva bhāvanaḥ ||
Mātā pitā sakhā bhrātā
Nivāsaśca suhṛdgatiḥ
Yo'sau Śrīyaśrīḥ paramaḥ
Tena Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ.
Nārāyaṇam sarvajagatām
Ayanam śayanam Hariḥ |
Tasmān Nārāyaṇa iti
Munibhiḥ samprakīrtyate ||

8. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 248. vv. 71-4.
Ananyā Viṣṇuṇā Lakṣmīḥ
Bhāskareṇa prabhā yathā |
Lakṣmīmanapagāminūn
Iti śruti vaco mahat ||
Tasmādakāro vai Viṣṇuḥ
Śrīśa eva jagat patiḥ |
Lakṣmī patitvam tasyaiva
Nānyasyeti suniścitam ||
Nityaiveśā jaganmātā
Hareḥ śrīranapāyini |
Yathā sarvagato Viṣṇuḥ
Tathaiveśā jaganmayi ||
Tasmādakāro vai Viṣṇuḥ
Lakṣmībhartā jagatpatiḥ |

9. See footnote No. 2 *ante*.

10. Cf. with footnote No. 5 *ante*.

11. *Vaiṣṇava* tradition holds this mantra as the chief benefactor of humanity which is embodied in the saying

Na Dvaya vācanataḥ kṣema karamam.

The *Saraṇāgati-gadya* of *Śrī Rāmānuja* is interpreted to be an elaboration of this mantra.

Ataḥ kṛtsnamidam gadyam *dvaya-vivaranam* iti sādhiyān sampradāyaḥ—so writes Venkatanātha in his commentary on the *Saraṇāgati-gadya* called *Rahasya-rakṣā*.

Gadyatrayam (Vani Vilas, Srirangam) 1910, p. 2.

12. See *Rahasyatrayasāra* of Vedānta Deśika—Kumbakonam, 1911, p. 234.

7. The word *Nārāyaṇa* stands for the *Īśvara* who has no equal and is filled with all the best attributes such as *vātsalya* or affection, *svāmītya* or lordship, *śauṣṭilya* or excellence of conduct, *sauḍabhya* or easy accessibility and who is none else than *Nārāyaṇa*, the lord of Śrī.¹³ The word (*Caranaṁ*) clearly indicates the way to be adopted by the servant towards his master *Īśvara* the lord who (alone) is capable of giving the needed protection and release, to evoke the sense of *kāruṇya* in the Lord.¹⁴ The next word *Saranam* stands for the *upāyabhāva* of the feet of the *Īśvara*.¹⁵ In *Prapadye*¹⁶ is summed up the rest of the action of the *Cetana*, who, being absolutely helpless, holds the feet of the *Īśvara* as the *upāya* or method, gets the necessary knowledge for the performance of the act of self-surrender and surrenders himself to the *Īśvara*.

8. (In the second part) the word *Srimate*¹⁷ should be interpreted thus : *Srimannārāyaṇa* who, in the former part is the *prāpaka* or one who is to lead the *Cetana* to attain the object, is, in the second part of this mantra, the object attained by the *Cetana* after *mokṣa* or release ; and when the *rukta* or *śeṣa* enters on his *kainkārya*, he serves the Lord as well as his consort Lakṣmī. (In no stage is *Īśvara* to stand alone without Lakṣmī.) The second *Nārāyaṇa*¹⁸ (in this part of the *mantra*) stands for the master of all, who is resplendent with all that is best and unequalled bliss. The dative case in this *mantra* also must be interpreted in the same way as in the case of the *Aṣṭākṣara*, i.e. the *prārthanā* or desire and request¹⁹ to serve the Lord. Here also the word *Namaḥ* contemplates the clearance of all obstacles that stand in the way of the deliverance. Briefly stated the *Dvaya mantra* means as follows :

"To attain the everlasting and tireless service to the Lord and for ever-increasing opportunities of such service, I prostrate and surrender myself at the feet of the Lord who is *Srimannārāyaṇa*."

*The Carana-Sloka*²⁰

9. This third great *mantra* has a special purpose to serve in this scheme. For the attainment of the method (*upāya*) that has been (so well) explained in both the *Aṣṭākṣara* and the *Dvaya*, the *cetana* should exhibit two main pre-requisite qualities, i.e., (1) his helplessness and inability to follow any other method except that of *saranāgati* and (2) his firm resolve to and non-dependence on any other deity. This view is supplemented in the form of an injunction or command through the *Carana-Sloka*.²¹ *

This (*Carana-Sloka*) *māntra* consists of three *Vākyas* or sentences and twelve words. Thus, the three (great *mantras* dealt with in this tract) truths supplement the meaning of one another and numerically contain double the number of *padas* or words respectively over the previous *mantra*.

10. In this verse, the first *vākya* enjoins the method. The sentence in the middle, explains the fruit of following the *Upāya* or method enjoined above. The third part relates to those who have performed the *Saranāgati* and are awaiting the grace of the Lord at the end of their human existence.

11. The two words *Sarvadharmān parityajya*²² stand for and indicate (1) that the *Cetana* has no other alternative method of salvation except the bright feet of

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 239-40.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 243.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 244.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 245 ff.

21. *Rahasyatrayasāra*—chapter called *Carana-Slokādhikāra*, Kumbakonam edition, pp. 255-314.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 249 ff.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

the Lord at which he surrenders himself, i.e., to say that he has found himself unfit to follow the Karma, Jñāna or Bhakti-mārgas as they are beyond his means, and (2) that the *Upāya*, of *prapatti* or *Saraṇāgati* insists on the determination of *Cetana* not to depend upon other deities or follow other dharmas.

Mām Ekam

12. These two words point out the *Sanātana dharma* (eternal dharma)—the Lord who is filled with the best attributes, the main-stay of the Universe as well as the first *upāya*, who is independent and who alone has the power to grant all desires (including *mokṣa*).

Saraṇam Vraja

13. Not merely shows the emphasis on the surrender of the *Jiva* to the Lord but indicates the *prapatti* in its due form with the due pre-requisites of such surrender such as *Mahāviśvāsa* or unshakable faith etc.

Aham tvā

14. 'I will release you' says the Lord. Thus he accepts the *Saraṇāgati* performed and accepts the responsibility to release the *Cetana* from all sins. The omnipotence of the Lord whose acceptance of the *prapatti* is manifest and the conduct of the *Cetana* who is now free from the sins, are now similar to that of the *Cātaka* bird and must wait for the grace of the Lord as the *Cātaka* for the rain.

15. Says the Lord, 'I will release you'. He is responsible for putting down and overcoming the obstacles that stand in the way of the performance of the *Kainkarya* or service to the Lord. The Lord swears not only the release but he further encourages the *Cetana* not to be despondent or (*mā śucaḥ*). This indicates the release from the former forlorn and helpless condition of the *Cetana* to the subsequent bliss of the release and its happy concomitants after attaining *mokṣa*. The first and second halves of this verse are counterparts and the first and second *Khaṇḍas* of the *Dvaya mantra*.

To conclude : The essence of the Vedānta Śāstrās is contained in three great *rahasyas* or secret doctrines dealt with in this paper. The *Tirumantra* which is divisible into three parts, the *Dvaya mantra* which contains six words and the *Carama-Sloka* with twelve padas, properly understood with their meaning, surely emancipate the *Cetana* from all the afflictions of a *sāmsarin* and lead him to unalloyed bliss or *Ananda*.

II

The scriptures in both Sanskrit and Tamil in the form of *Śruti* or Vedas, *Smṛti* or Dharmasāstras, Itihāsas or Epics and Purāṇas treat of the Brahman and of the essential knowledge of Brahman as leading to the ultimate goal of *Mokṣa* or release from this mundane existence thus leading on to a life of eternal bliss or *Ananda*. Those who desire for such a bliss are designated under the term *Mumukṣu*.

The three great entities of the *Cit*, the *Acū* and *Īśvara* have been termed as *Bhoktā*, *Bhogyā* and *Preritā* by the Upaniṣad. The first, *Bhoktā*, is one who enjoys ; while enjoyment is a common phenomenon to both *Jiva* and *Īśvara*, to name the latter as the *Preritā* is to distinguish the *Jiva* as the *Bhoktā* even though his enjoyment is dependent on the will of the *Īśvara* and has no powers of control over others.¹

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 257 ff.

1. *Tattvanavanītam*, of Sri Venkatanātha in *Sūlarai-rahasyaṅgal*, (No. 4), p. 19.

Similarly the word *kartā* in the verse *adhiṣṭānam tathā kartā* refers to the same *Jīva* whose actions are not independent of the control of *Īśvara*. There is nothing which this *Jīva* can call his own as independent, such as his *jñāna* or *Ananda* or *Svarūpa*.² He has accumulated in the course of his many lives in this universe what one may be tempted to name a river of *aparādhas* or acts of commission and omission—which have virtually imprisoned him in this world dominated by the three *guṇas*, *Satva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas* and unable to get his release therefrom. Such a class is termed the *Baddhas* or those tied down to their position.³ Some of these *Baddhas* following the path laid down in the *Sāstras* have succeeded in inducing the meaning of the *caramaśloka* embodied in the phrase *Mokṣayisyāmi* and have become equals to *Nityas* who welcome them with great enthusiasm for the service of the Lord in the World of Bliss.⁴ The third class of *Nityas* comprises of *Seṣa* (the great serpent—the bed of *Srīmānnārāyaṇa*) *Garuḍa*, *Viṣvaksena* and other *Nityasūris* devoted to the service of the Lord in that world of Bliss.⁵

Bhogyā

The second category of *Bhogyā* has now to be explained. The word here stands as the equivalent of *Acit* and that which has no knowledge. It has already been pointed out elsewhere that this *Acit* consists of four parts. (1) *Triguṇa*; (2) *Kāla*; (3) *Suddha satva* and (4) *Dharmabhūta-Jñānam*. Of these, the *ācāryas* have designated the first three as *Trividhacetana* or the three varieties of *acetana* dravyas. The first of these three—*Triguṇa* is the dravya which is the abode and support of the three *guṇas*, *satva*, *rajas* and *tamas* which cause the measurable happiness and misery as well as the illusion of the *Jīva* in actual life.⁶ Another internal division obtainable among these is that of *Kevala-Prākṛti*, *Prākṛti-vikṛti* and *Kevalavikṛti* and subsequently into the twenty-four *tattvas* accepted by the systems of philosophy. The permutation and combination of these combined with differences in nature, place and time, produce a limitless variety.⁷

Kāla is a vibhu and a dravya belonging to the class termed *jaḍa*.⁸ It is the chief and efficient cause of the various stages in life such as childhood, adolescence, manhood and old age. By reason of the changes of seasons there is a hot season or a cold season; similarly a classification of *kāla* as affected by *Triguṇa*, of a *Sātvika* or a *rājasa* or a *tāmasa* *kāla* is acceptable, due to special reasons.⁹ The measurement of *kāla* would vary from the long day of *Brahmā* or *Prajāpati* to the shortest unit of the day of a mortal man.¹⁰

2. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

3. For this classification see my paper on *The Road to Truth*, Review of Philosophy and Religion 1941, April, p. which closely follows the *Tattvapadavi* of *Srī Venkaṭanātha*.

4 & 5. *Nyāyasiddhāṇjana*, (Sri Vedāntadeśika Works Memorial edition, Vol. I, 1934) p. 141.

एतेषां नित्यसूरीणामानन्त्यावान्तरभेदादिकं श्रीपाश्चात्त्रसंहितासु विशदमनुसंधेयम् । अनन्त विष्वक्सेनायैः नियताधिक्रियैरपि । etc.

6. *Tattvanavanītam*, p. 20.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 21. For an elaborate discussion on *kāla* and its relation to the philosophy of *Rāmānuja* see *Nyāyasiddhāṇjana*, p. 79 ff.

9. *Tattvanavanītam*, p. 21.

10. The *Purāṇas* deal with this at length; from the 100 years of *Brahmā* and its various divisions into *kalpas* of 25 years each and thence to the minutest part of time from *nimeṣa*.

Suddha—satva

This is a special dravya with no division. It has no mixture of either *tamas* or *rajas*.¹¹ It is the source of pure *Prākṛta satva*. It is the abode of *Īśvara*, his place of enjoyment. It produces all the variety of material and entertainment to the Lord *Śrīmannārāyaṇa*.¹² Even so high a place as that of *Brahmā* the creator appears in the light of this abode of bliss—equal to hell. It is the *vāsasthāna* of the Lord of *Śrī* called the *Paramapada*. It depends for its existence and support only upon *Śrīmannārāyaṇa*.

Preritā

Preritā is the term applied to this *Īśvara*, or *Śrīmannārāyaṇa* the Lord of *Śrī* whose control over the three entitles of Cit, Acit etc. their form, maintenance and action is illimitable. By reason of the three sambandhas¹³ he has the Universal body, a body which contains the entire Universe. He is the prime cause of all activities because of his three *vyāpāras*.¹⁴ His rūpa is without change in all the three divisions of time of the past, present and future.¹⁵ He simultaneously lives in three places without ever quitting them even for a moment.¹⁶ His *arcāvatāra* is of three varieties e.g. *svāyamvyakta*, *ārṣa* and *divya*. His prominence is clearly felt in the first three yugas of *Kṛta*, *Tretā* and *Dvāpara*. He is filled with two sets of three guṇas known generally as *śāḍguṇyam* e.g. *Jñāna*, *bala aiśvarya*, *vīrya*, *śakti* and *tejas*.

By his three vyūhas of *Śaṅkarṣaṇa*, *Pradyumna* and *Aniruddha* he carries on the work of the Universe. He is the root of the three *Puruṣārthas*. The *Puruṣārthas* here mentioned are not the two beginning with *Dharma*. They are construed as under *Aiśvarya*, *Kaivalyam* and *Mokṣam*.

He is the one entity accepted by all three authoritative *pramāṇas* of *Pratyakṣa*, *Anumāna* and *Śabda*. He is the meaning and the main objective of the single word *Pranava* (of the *pluta-svara pranava*). One who understands the significance and the difference between himself and the *Prerita* and accordingly shapes his conduct will surely obtain *Mokṣa* by the grace of *Īśvara*. The attainment of such a knowledge ensures to the *cetana* the need for meditating upon the Lord at all times. Such a meditation should be considered as leading on the *cetana* to the right path and the practice of *Saraṇāgati* if he has not already completed his *śaraṇāgati*. To the *Prapanna* who has already delivered himself unto the Lord it is part of the service which he is rendering unto to Him. To this *Īśvara* to whom the Cit and Acit form part of his body and who protects the good and destroys the evil by weeding it out, *Jagadvyāpāra* is as easy a matter as eating butter for *Śrī Kṛṣṇa*. There is little difference between the two actions as a matter of sport.

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11. *Tattvanavanāntam*, p. 21.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

13. The three sambandhas referred to are those relating to *ādheyatva*, *vidheyatva* and *śeṣatva*, *ibid.* p. 21.

14. *The three Vyāpāras* : *Īśvara* is the cause of all action in all its variety. The three *Vyāpāras* have been pointed out by *acāryas* as under

प्रकृत्यादिरूपोपादानं वस्तु नियमनम्

कालादि सहकारि वस्तुनियमनम्

ब्रह्माद्यन्तरात्मत्वेन स्वरूपेण च सृष्टिसङ्कल्पः

as also the three kinds of causes as *Upādāna Sahakāri* and *nimitta*, *ibid.*, p. 22.

15. The divisions of time such as past, present and future, or the stages in life of childhood, youth, adolescence, manhood and old age these are not present in *Īśvara* and he maintains the same changeless form of *divya-pāra vigraha*.

16. *Śrī Vaikuṇṭham*, the milky ocean and the *Sūryamaṇḍala* are the three abodes of the Lord.

**MADHAV RAO I's APPEAL TO THE HON'BLE EAST INDIA
COMPANY FOR HELP AT THE BATTLE OF
SHRIGONDA 1761**

(Entirely based on Unpublished Records)

Fortunately or unfortunately the records relating to the correspondence between Madhav Rao and the Hon'ble East India Company regarding the help required by the Peshwa against Nizam Ali Khan who had advanced to attack him near Shrigonda, lay untouched in the Bombay Record Office. This material was not utilised by Grant DUFF, FORREST and AITCHISON, although FORREST had easy access to them. Ten years ago, I made use of these records but had not the time or opportunity to place them before the public.

The defeat of the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao on the plains of Panipat in January, 1761 was so terrible a shock to him, that he never recovered from its effect and he expired at the end of June of the same year.

Balaji Baji Rao's death following in the wake of the defeat at Panipat, cast a deep gloom on the whole of 'Maharashtra'. The Marathas felt the loss of such a great personality as the Peshwa, who had the good fortune to obtain a higher degree of fame among his fellow countrymen than his father. Balaji Baji Rao was succeeded by his second son, Madhav Rao, then in his seventeenth year. As soon as Nizam Ali Khan heard this news, he made preparations to recover the territories he had lost at the battle of Udgir.*

It was at this stage that the young Peshwa began his negotiations with the Bombay Government. It is to these negotiations we want to do full justice and that forms the subject matter of this paper.

Raghunath Rao, the *de facto* ruler of the Marathas, tried to obtain from the Bombay Government '*some European soldiers and guns*'. He wrote a letter to this effect to the Bombay Council dated the 28th September, 1761 (which was received by them on the 9th of October). Therein, he requested them '*to assist as soon as possible with every thing*' for fighting. At the same time he informed that Baji Pant was authorised to speak to them according to his instructions.¹ No sooner had this letter been despatched, than the Peshwa Madhav Rao wrote to the Bombay Government saying, 'As Nizam Ali Khan had made war against us, we therefore have great occasion for *some Europeans* because I find myself obliged to go against Nizam Ali and therefore would be obliged to you if you would help me. This is the proper time that you should help me. I have talked with Mr. Whitehill on this subject and given him my proposals about it. And Badjee Gangadhar Pant who is going now will also speak to your Honour about it, and I hope you will (be) agreeable to that proposal *Send some Europeans with warlike stores* in as short a time as possible'.²

Thus we find that Madhav Rao requested '*some Europeans with warlike stores* in as short a time as possible', because Nizam Ali Khan with his army had marched and arrived near the vicinity of Poona. But the Bombay Government, while acknowledging the receipt of the letter, placed the matter before their Council

* Read my article on the battle of Udgir.

1. *Public Department Diary*, Vol. 37, p. 672. Italics mine.

2. *Public Department Diary*, Vol. 37, p. 672. Italics mine.

together with the proposal which Madhav Rao had sent through Baji Gangadhar Pant. This proposal consisted of 9 clauses and set up a definite demand as to the number of soldiers required and ammunition wanted. It also informed them of the fiscal agreement regarding the payment of troops, and the transfer of lands etc., to the Hon'ble East India Company.

Thus Madhav Rao and Raghunath Rao told Baji Gangadhar Pant to inform the Bombay Council to let them have 2000 Europeans under the following³ agreement.....³

1st. On or before the 15th December next, the Bombay Council should send 2000 Europeans with 15 fieldpieces and all the warlike store that was necessary. That the Sircar (the Peshwa's Government) promised to pay every man Rs. 30/- per month on taking their muster.

2nd. On the arrival of 2000 men at Poona, the Peshwa would pay Rs. 50,000 as a present to them.

3rd. On the arrival of 2000 men, the Peshwa's Government would assign to them districts near Jambusur, yielding an annual revenue of Rs. 1,50,000/-.

4th. If the Peshwa's Government succeeded against the Mughal (Nizam Ali Khan), then they promised to give a present of Rs. 2,00,000/- and despatch the troops back to Bombay.

5th. If the Peshwa's troops and the Hon'ble East India Company's troops fight against the Nizam and meet with success, then the Peshwa promised them to give certain territories of Rs. 5 lacs at Razbunder (Rajmundary).

6th. On the arrival of the Europeans, the Peshwa promised to give them an additional sum of Rs. 50,000/- as present.

7th. That the charges for the horse, etc., for carrying the fieldpieces should be paid out of one lakh intended as a present under clauses 2nd and 6th.

8th. If peace should be settled between them and the Nizam, without any occasion for fighting, in that case the Peshwa would pay Rs. 1,00,000/- and not Rs. 2,00,000/- as mentioned in clause 4th.

9th. The Peshwa would pay for powder, shots, etc., but if the number of soldiers was less than what was promised, then the Company would get the presents pro rata.

In reply to this proposal the President acquainted Madhav Rao, that they would interfere no further than was necessary for the protection of his family from entire ruin and making up the dispute with the Nizam, nor even so far, "*unless they resign over to the Hon'ble Company some of their possessions adjoined to theirs in consideration thereof*".⁴

In view of the above overtures made by Baji Gangadhar Pant, the President informed the Board that "there is a *pleasing prospect of the Marathas assigning over to the Hon'ble Masters, the island of Salsette* in consideration of our affording them the assistance of men and stores requested by Madhav Rao in the proposals entered hereafter in consequence of which he represents for getting fifteen hundred men and a proper quantity of stores in readiness which the Bombay unanimously approved".⁵

These negotiations dragged on for over three months. And Baji Gangadhar Pant waited on the President and apologised for the delay in getting the reply, which this time came in a written memorandum detailing what the Marathas had

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. 37, pp. 720-21.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 768. Italics mine.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. 37, p. 714. Italics mine.

to offer. This memorandum was found to contain 10 very extraordinary clauses, and bore a small seal of Ramaji Pant.⁶

1st. It says that if the English were to send 2000 Europeans and 25 field-pieces with warlike stores *and demand no wages* and are successful in fighting against the Mughal (Nizam Ali Khan), and assist them in taking Janjira, then, the Marathas promised to deliver Salsette.

2nd. Before the expiration of 15 days, all the 2000 Europeans, guns, ammunition etc. should arrive.

3rd. The English could eat fowls, goats, etc., but should not meddle with other cattle because that was against the faith of the Marathas.

4th. The English should send for 2 gentlemen of the Council so as to take care that artillery would meet with success.

5th. The English were to carry the guns at their own charge to the ghats but the Marathas promised to supply them carts and oxen.

6th. Should the English arrive before any decisive battle took place, and meet with success, they promised to comply with what they said before.

7th. If, before the arrival of the English armies, the Marathas succeeded against the Nizam, then they would pay only their wages, from the day they set out to the day they returned to Bombay.

8th. Should they return to Bombay, the men would be given wages, but the Hon'ble East India Company should not expect anything. The Marathas agree to take Bancote and its villages as the English did not like them.

9th. The Marathas promised to deliver Salsette on the condition that the English should not hinder the Owners or Deshmukhs and should allow their heirs to enjoy all the privileges they had under them.

10th. Should the English arrive in the army before 15 days and meet with success by destroying the Mughal guards composed of soldiers armed with fire-locks, the Marathas would put them in possession of Salsette.⁷

The President of the Bombay Council was not a little surprised at the contents of the letter and treated it with contempt. He told Baji Gangadhar Pant that he could not believe that Madhav Rao could have authorised anybody to make such a preposterous proposal. He became very angry and said that he would not give a minute's consideration to it. He also felt sorry that Baji Gangadhar Pant, a person of his age (then over sixty) and one who enjoyed the Hon'ble Company's confidence, should have brought such a proposal. To all these Baji Gangadhar Pant pleaded his innocence and further stated that he was sensible to the folly of making an irrelevant proposal. But in spite of his remonstrances, he was ordered to convey the same to the English. Being a servant, he had no other alternative and, much against his will, he had to comply with his order.⁸

When this correspondence was carried on by the Bombay Council, the Bengal Council advised the Madras Council to side with the Nizam against the Marathas as it was a golden opportunity not to miss the advantage offered due to the confusion prevailing in their camp. The Calcutta Council wrote to the King of England, Salabat Jung and Nizam Ali Khan to acquaint them with their intention, and represented to them the benefits accruing from such an undertaking.⁹ But

6. *Secret and Political Dept. Diary*, Vol. 7, pp. 121-123. Italics mine.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-123.

Note :—Grant DUFF knew this much that 'the proposals were extravagant and impertinent.' Vide, *History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 166.

8. Anil Chandra BANERJEE in his article, 'Peshwa Madhav Rao I's Relations with English', (*History of Congress Proceedings*, 3rd Session, p. 1473), says "What these proposals were we do not know"!

9. *Political Dept. Diary*, Vol. 8, p. 54.

the President of the Council at Madras rejected this suggestion, giving his reasons as follows :—

"Resolved therefore that we decline interfering at this juncture though it should hereafter appear that our entering into any engagements with the Moghuls (the Nizam) will be productive of any solid advantage to our Hon'ble Masters, we shall not fail in such a case to pursue every measure which may appear for that purpose and co-operate at all times with the Gentlemen at their other Presidencies in everything which seem for their real interest."¹⁰

It is interesting to note from '*some Europeans and guns*' the Marathas began to demand more and more help from the English. It came to 2000 Europeans and 15 fieldpieces in the first proposal. Later on the demand of field guns was increased to 20, and much to the chagrin of the English, all the privileges and monetary charges were reduced to a niggardly low level. As if this was not a sufficient insult to the English, the Marathas demanded the presence of 'one or two Gentlemen of the Council to be with the artillery to take care that they meet with success.'

These protracted negotiations failed since both the parties were self-interested and came into conflict with each other. The English wanted to have the island of Salsette which the Marathas dared not give; the Peshwa Madhav Rao, in his letter to the Bombay Council, referring to the cession of Salsette, says, 'This year I having a great occasion for your help, you said that if I would give you this place and the fort of my best liking of Salsette, you would then come in, in this manner, you wrote which surprised me, because this could never be done. Though you are my friend, yet you desired the place which we have expended lakh of rupees to get. I therefore did not send an answer and how then could any man dare to talk about giving it. It is well-known that about Salsette lacs of armies will go from hence. You are my friend but nevertheless whether you would only desire that my place or not, therefore Bajee Gangadhar waited on you to try it, but he did soon agreeable to the Sircar's order go and give you an answer. So I know not why you would surprise or laugh at it.'¹¹

Secondly, the English felt ashamed to help the Marathas against the Nizam, whom they not only professed friendship, but actually wrote that they would go to his help. The death of Tarabai and the revolt of the Maratha Sardars of Nizam Ali Khan brought great relief to the Marathas. To their luck they defeated the Nizam who sued for peace at Shrigonda. In his letter, addressed to the Bombay Council, dated the 17th (but received in Bombay on the 31st of January, 1762), the Peshwa informed the Council that 'the Moghul is returned very distressed. His brother and great officers came to us, and by the intercession of the principal officers of the Sarkar, peace is settled, particulars of which I wrote to you in my letter of good news.'¹²

If I have benefited my readers by unfolding the interesting episode of these transactions between Peshwa Madhav Rao and the Hon'ble East India Company prior to the battle of Shrigonda 1761, I think my purpose is more than served. My article on the battle of Shrigonda¹³ will be found very useful from the point of view of the readers of this article. It gives a proper setting and background to this article, because it was at Shrigonda that the Peshwa appealed for help to the Hon'ble East India Company.

K. SAJUN LAL

10. *Ibid.*, Vol. 8, page 5.

11. *Ibid.*, Vol. 9, p. 87.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Article on 'the Battle of Shrigonda' contributed to the Indian History Congress, 5th Session.

SŪLAPĀṆĪ, THE SĀHUDIYĀN*

By

SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE, Dacca.

8.—*Rāsa-yātrā-viveka.*

This small book begins with a derivation of the word "Rāsa". Then follows a discussion as to the particular period in the year when the festival should be held, and also whether the day or the night is prescribed for it. Next the author quotes a somewhat lengthy verse from the Skandapurāṇa which sets forth the time and procedure of the festival and also the efficacy of celebrating it. Dance, courtesans' songs, decorations and various other concomitants of this amorous Autumn sport of Lord Kṛṣṇa are mentioned one after another. Finally, the procedure of worshipping the god is given in some detail.

The book is, more or less, a running commentary on well-known authoritative texts the only merit of the author lying in the fact that at intervals he raises discussions, and attempts to set forth his own views after comparing them with those of other writers.

The only parallel work known is that of Raghunandana named "Rāsa-yātrā-paddhati" no printed edition of which is yet available.

9.—*Tithi-viveka.*

The Tithi-viveka, variously called as "Tithi-dvaita prakaraṇam", or, Tithi-dvaidha-nirṇaya-prakaraṇam, as the very name signifies, is an attempt to fix the precise point of time when fasts and other religious duties are to be performed in a particular tithi, especially when a tithi extends over more than one day. Disputed matters are decided by the author in the form of questions and answers.

The book has a happy combination of lucidity and conciseness contrary to the needless elaboration which often vitiates the nibandha literature. The Tithi-viveka, unlike the foregoing one, is not merely a running commentary on certain authoritative texts but also contains valuable solutions of some problematic matters.

As an evidence to the popularity of the Tithi-viveka in Bengal before the advent of Raghunandana may be pointed out the fact that a scholar like Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi wrote a commentary on it styled the "Tātparyā-dīpikā."

There is a large number of works on Tithi, mostly existing in references

* Continued from p. 156 of New Indian Antiquary, Vol. V, No. 8, October 1942.

and manuscripts, of which the Tithi-tattva of Raghunandana is the most famous in Bengal.

Both in bulk and quality Raghunandana's book far excels that of Śūlapāṇi. With immense learning, thorough grasp of the subject-matter, and insight and knowledge of a true Smārta paṇḍita Raghunandana introduces a world of things in his masterly treatise that was never to be beaten by any work—past or future. Beside the excellence of this work the influence that might have been exercised on Raghunandana by Śūlapāṇi or by any other predecessor, becomes insignificant even as the spots by the side of the splendour of the moon.

10. *Prāyaścitta-viveka*.

This book is a voluminous one, and all that we can do here is to attempt only a brief description of its contents. In this elaborate book the author at first defines the word प्रायश्चित्त, and describes more than twenty varieties of hell (नरक) e. g. तामिस्र, महारौरव, etc., according to different kinds of sufferings to which a sinner is subjected in the world hereafter. Next he classifies sins into अतिपातक, महापातक, अनुपातक, उपपातक and जातिभ्रंशकर or sins causing degradation, and incidentally mentions certain acts which become sinful only when committed by people of a few particular classes. Each of the pātakas (sin) is again subdivided, and, on the whole, the author contemplates nearly a hundred cases of sinful acts. He defines the exact nature of these acts and prescribes detailed expiation for each. At the end he treats of over a dozen vratas which are expiatory or purificatory to sinners. The varieties of sins dealt with by Śūlapāṇi only indicate that we should not form too exalted an idea about the morals of ancient Indians. The Indian Penal Code does not reflect a more immoral Indian Society under the British rule.

Govindānanda (Tattvārtha-Kaumudī, Ed. J. Vidyāsāgara along with the text), Rāmakiṣṇa (कौमुदी or टिप्पणी) and Śrī-kṛṣṇa Tarkālaṅkāra are the well known commentators on the *Prāyaścitta-viveka*.

The *prāyaścittatattva* of Raghunandana is the only well-known work on *prāyaścitta* in Bengal after Śūlapāṇi. A glance at the contents of the *prāyaścitta-viveka* and of the *Prāyaścittatattva* seems to indicate that Raghunandana reduced the size of the book of his Bengali predecessor to about one-fifth and wrote his work in a concise form excluding the learned academic discussions, e.g., those of dividing and subdividing the sins, the narakas, etc., for the guidance of the general public.

11.—*Srāddha-viveka*.

In this learned and perhaps the most famous book of Śūlapāṇi the author starts with the meaning of the term *śrāddha* and the conception of the ceremony. The essence of his discourse on the nature of *śrāddha* is that it

signifies the course of events beginning from the offerings to the pitris ending with their acceptance by the Brāhmins.³⁵

After having determined *śrāddhalakṣaṇa* the author in a lengthy chapter called *devatādhikaraṇa* introduces a metaphysical and philosophical discussion of all about the deities in connection with *śrāddha*.

Next Śūlapāṇi quotes authoritative texts from Bṛhaspati, Manu, Kūrmapurāṇa, and Matsyapurāṇa. The first three agree in dividing the principal *śrāddhas* into *nitya*, *naimittika*, *kāmya*, *vṛddhi* and *pārvaṇa* other kinds being included in them. The Matsyapurāṇa divides *śrāddha* into *nitya*, *naimittika*, and *kāmya* while Viṣṇu omits the *naimittikaśrāddha*. But Śūlapāṇi's attitude is that all the five abovementioned classes are included in the definition of Matsyapurāṇa and of Viṣṇu.

In describing places suitable for performing *śrāddha*, Śūlapāṇi lays great stress on purifying them by besmearing cowdung. The performance of the ceremony is prohibited on a piece of land belonging to other persons on the ground that the benefit of such *śrāddha* is spoilt by the ancestors of the owner of the land. In unavoidable circumstances *śrāddha* can be performed in another's land after giving the value thereof to the owner, or, if he is dead, by offering a portion of the things meant for *śrāddha* to the ancestors of the owner. Among the places best suited for the purpose are banks, confluences and sources of rivers, hill-side, forest, etc.

The particularly prohibited places are the Mlecchadeśa, the places called Kāraskara, Kākaṭa (Magadha), Kāliṅga, and places to the north of Indus, etc.

Then follows subtle and elaborate discussions about the period of performing *śrāddha*. Next the author takes up the question of the precise point of time when the ceremony is to be performed and accepts the forenoon for *mātṛkaśrāddha*, afternoon for *patṛka*, noon for *ekoddiṣṭa*, and morning for *vṛddhi* (i.e. for invoking God's blessings before any undertaking, e.g. *vivāha*, *upanayana*).

Śūlapāṇi then discusses at length the prohibited times for performing *śrāddha* and refers to a number of authorities in this connection.

In the next place are discussed the characteristics of various classes of Brahmins, the order in which these people are to be fed, and also the manner of inviting them, the number of Brahmins to be fed in particular *śrāddhas*. After all this the minute details of the procedure of the ceremony is taken up, and to this subject is devoted a fairly large portion of this book. Incidentally the author raises the interesting question as to whether *brāhmaṇa-phaṇjana* or *pindadāna* is the principal duty in a *śrāddha*, or, both are equally

35. Cp. पितृनुद्दिश्य द्रव्यत्यागो ब्राह्मणस्वीकारपर्यन्तः श्राद्धम्

(Caṇḍicarāṇa's Ed., Calcutta, 1314 B.S.).

indispensable, and cites conflicting views. The author seems to be inclined to the superiority of *brāhmaṇabhojana* to *piṇḍadāna*.

At this point the more important portion of the work comes to an end. The rest is devoted to some minor varieties of *śrāddha* and other ordinary topics such as the eating of the remnants of offering in a *śrāddha* by a *putrikā-putra*, or, by the son of two fathers etc.

The popularity and importance of the last two works of Śūlapāṇi can be inferred from the fact that in spite of the paramount position of Raghunandana in Bengal these two works are widely read even to-day. Most of the smṛti students of the present day are quite familiar with these two works even though they may fail to cite the name of any other work of the same author.

The Śrāddha-viveka of Śūlapāṇi must be distinguished from other works of the same name, especially from the Śrāddha-viveka of Radradhara, the Maithila writer.

Ancient India perhaps produced the greatest number of works on Śrāddha as is evident from numerous references to such works and also from the existence of a large number of Mss. But in Bengal the only other important work, so far known, is the Śrāddhatattva of Raghunandana. Like the Prāyaścitta-tattva it is also an abridgment and "made-easy" of the Śrāddha-viveka meant for the use of ordinary people.

The Śrāddha-viveka has been commented upon by

- (1) Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi.
- (2) Haridāsa Tarkācārya
- (3) Acyuta Cakravartī (टिप्पनी)
- (4) Govindānanda (अर्थकौमुदी)
- (5) Jagadīśa (भावार्थदीप)
- (6) Rāmakṛṣṇa Nyāyālaṃkāra (आश्वादिविवेककौमुदी)
- (7) Maheśvara Nyāyapañcāna
- (8) Śrīkṛṣṇa Tarkālaṃkāra

Of these the commentary of Śrīkṛṣṇa is widely read in Bengal.³⁶

The existence of so many commentaries written by such eminent persons speak volumes for the unparalleled position once occupied by this book in Bengal.

Commentaries by Śūlapāṇi.

- (1) Dīpakalikā³⁷

36. Nos. 2 and 7 are mentioned by Dines BHATTACHARJĠ (Bhāratavaraṇa, Māgha, 1348 B.S.). The rest are all mentioned by Kane in "History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I.

37. For Mss. of this book and details about its contents see "The Dīpakalikā of Śūlapāṇi"—S. C. Banerji—N. I. A. Vol. V, No. 2, May, 1942.

- (2) *Parīṣiṣṭa-dīpakalikā*.
- (3) *Gobhila-ṭikā*.
- (4) *Chandoga-parīṣiṣṭa* (or, *Chandoga-parīṣiṣṭa-dīpikā*).

Parīṣiṣṭa-dīpakalikā.

As pointed out by M. Cakravartī it is mentioned in Raghunandana's *Suddhi-tattva*, and no Ms. of the work has yet been found.

Gobhila-ṭikā

Chandoga-parīṣiṣṭa

or, *parīṣiṣṭa-dīpikā*).

These two commentaries have been noticed by Dines Bhattacharji (*Bhārata-varṣa Māgha—1348 B.S.*). He points out that Haridāsa Tarkācārya has quoted passages from the former book while the latter has been referred to by Śrīkṛṣṇa Tarkālamkāra. There is however, no Ms. of either work.

Personal History of Śūlapāṇi.

We know very little about the personal history of this great figure in Bengal Smṛti. From his books we know nothing except that in the colophons he is called Sāhuḍiyān (Sāhuḍiyā or Sāhuḍiyāla) and is given the title Upādhyāya, or, Mahāmahopādhyāya (also mentioned by Raghunandana) and Bhaṭṭācārya. This word Sāhuḍiyān shows that Śūlapāṇi was a Bengali Brahmin of the Rāḍhīya Śreṇī and of the Bharadvāja Gotra. Kane says that the "Sāhuḍiyāla" was a degraded section of the Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas in Bengal from the days of Ballāla Sena. But had this title indicated degradation Śūlapāṇi would not have designated himself as a Sāhuḍiyān in the colophons to his works. It may be that the Sāhuḍiyāns were no longer degraded in Śūlapāṇi's time. Rudradhara's reference to Śūlapāṇi as a Gauḍīya confirms that he was a Bengali.

As pointed out by Dines BHATTACHARJI Buchanan Hamilton in his "Account of the district of Dinajpur" makes Śūlapāṇi a native of Jessore. This is a mere tradition with no historical foundation.

Various traditions, of doubtful historical veracity, make him the maternal grand-father of the famous logician Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, and a judge in the court of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. There is a story that Śūlapāṇi married at Navadvīpa, and passed his time there in teaching Sanskrit and composing books. According to another story he committed a great sin, and, towards the end of his life, atoned for it at Benares.

About Śūlapāṇi's creed we can say nothing definitely, but can draw some inferences from his works. In some of his books he shows distinct bias towards the Yajurveda. For example, while giving mantras in his *Śrāddha-viveka* he lays greater stress on the Yajurvedic mantras. Again in the *prāyaścitta* section (ch. III) of the *Dīpakalikā* while giving the *pañca-*

gavyasodhana-mantra he gives only the mantra prescribed for Yajurvedic Brahmins (c.p. गायत्र्या गृह गोमुत्रं, गन्धद्वारेति गोमयं, आप्यायस्वेति च क्षीरं, दधिकान्न इति दधि, तेजोऽसि शुक्रमित्याजं, देवस्य त्वा कुशोदकम्, etc.) From the above the inference seems probable that Śūlapāṇi was a Yajurvedic Brahmin in spite of the saying *yajuh sarvatra giyate*, i.e. Yajurvedic mantras may be used in absence or ignorance of the mantras of the other vedas.

Out of Śūlapāṇi's six introductory verses of the namaskriyā type, various forms of Viṣṇu are extolled in as many as five verses. If the salutation verses prove anything with regard to the creed of their writers, we may suppose that Śūlapāṇi was a Vaiṣṇava but we are not sure to what particular Vaiṣṇava sect he belonged inasmuch as he invokes indiscriminately Nārāyana, Kṛṣṇa, Hari, and Nandanandana. The following are the salutation verses available till now :—

1. नत्वा नारायणं दृष्ट्वा etc. (Dola-Yātrā-Viveka)
2. नत्वा कृष्णपदद्वन्द्वं etc. (Rāsa-Yātrā-Viveka)
3. अशेष.....नत्वा कृष्ण (Dīpakalikā)
4. नत्वा.....हरिपद etc. (Vāsantī-Viveka).
5. नत्वा.....नन्दनन्दनं etc. (Saṃkrānti-viveka).

*Śūlapāṇi's time.*³⁸

There is good deal of facts and fancies about the time of Śūlapāṇi on which the last word has not yet been said and will perhaps never be said. His age ranges from the 11th to the 15th century.

According to Rajendralāla Mitra Śūlapāṇi was a judge in the court of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal while Haraprasāda Sastri makes him belong to "a period anterior to Vallālasena (11th century A.D.)". Jolly and Eggeling would, however, place him much later.

From the fact that Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi's commentaries on the Śrāddha-viveka and the Tithi-viveka cannot be later than the beginning of the 16th century M. Chakravarti fixes the lower limit of Śūlapāṇi at the middle of the fifteenth century. This view is supported by the mention of Śūlapāṇi in the Śrāddha-Cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati Miśra whose time falls approximately in the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

The lower limit of Śūlapāṇi can be fixed at an earlier period. Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa, whose date falls roughly in the first quarter of the 15th century, mentions, in his Smṛti-ratnahāra,³⁹ the Tithiviveka, the Śrāddha-viveka and the Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa of Śūlapāṇi besides the doubtful Saṃvatsara-pradīpa. This would place Śūlapāṇi at the end of the 14th century

38. See "Śūlapāṇi Mahāmahopādhyāya"—D. C. Bhattacharjī (Bhāratavarṇa, Pous, 1348 B.S.), J. A. S. B., Vol. XI, 1915 (p. 341).

39. Des Cat. of Mss. in Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, Serial No. 2138 (5219).

or at least in the first quarter of the 15th even assuming that Śūlapāṇi was a contemporary of Rāyamukuta.

From the mention of the works of Capdeśvara (approximately 1st and 2nd quarters of the 14th century) in the Saṃkrānti-viveka and of the Kāla-mādhaviya of Mādhavācārya (roughly middle of the 14th century) in the Durgotsava-viveka, M. Chakravarti would fix the upper limit of Śūlapāṇi's time at 1390 A.D. These facts led him to place Śūlapāṇi in the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D., "if not earlier."

The fact that some Mss. of the Rāsayāra-viveka⁴⁰ quote Vācaspati Miśra has led Dines Bhattacharji to suppose that Śūlapāṇi was a contemporary with Vācaspati Miśra whose works are assigned by him to the period between 1440-80 A.D. The reference to Vācaspati Miśra, found in the Mss. of a single work, does not seem to prove anything definitely as it might have been an interpolation. It must be pointed out that the Bibliotheca Indica Ed. of the Tirtha-cintāmaṇi does not contain any such topic as that referred to in the Rāsa-yātrā-viveka. It may also be noted that out of the seven Mss. of the Dola-yātrā-viveka⁴¹ preserved in the University of Dacca, as many as three omit the word Tīrthacintāmaṇi which is found in the other Mss. and this book must have referred to the book of Vācaspati Miśra bearing this name. As pointed out above the mention of Śūlapāṇi's works in the book of Rāyamukuta makes us doubt the authenticity of Śūlapāṇi's references to Vācaspati Miśra.

The above survey of Śūlapāṇi and his works prove clearly enough that he was an erudite smṛti scholar and a powerful writer. His greatness lies chiefly in the fact that in Bengal he was the first writer to write in so many topics, and in a way that was so much suitable for the readers of ordinary merit and learning. For this work he had thoroughly to sift the materials—a task particularly laborious and demanding the genius and erudition of a scholar at a time when the books existed in manuscripts with no scientific indices and learned introductions. The foregoing discussions also show how deeply Raghunandana was indebted to Śūlapāṇi.

The question naturally arises—how is it that in Bengal Śūlapāṇi, with all his learning and originality, is a mere name while Raghunandana reigns supreme in the field of nibandha literature? As has been said Śūlapāṇi was in many respects a pioneer. Pioneers have a definite disadvantage from which the later workers fortunately do not suffer. The fame of a later worker often eclipses that of the earlier one. Who cares now to remember the precursors of Kālidāsa in literature? The first in the field lays the foundation which remains hidden underground. With the exception of the very few critically minded specialists the great majority of people look at

40. *Sk. Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Calcutta, Oct. 1941.

41. *Dola-Yātrā-Viveka*, Ed. S. C. Banerji, Kane Festschrift, Poona 1941, (p. 59, l. 97).

with wonder the mighty and magnificent superstructure. The underground foundation escapes their notice. Śūlapāṇi, moreover, was, according to some, descended from the degraded Sāhuḍiyān family while Raghunandana was a respectable Śāṇḍilya Bandyopādhyāya. Raghunandana had no prejudice to overcome. He had the advantage of being born and brought up in the most flourishing centre of learning in Bengal. The time was also favourable for him for the smṛti in Bengal was then in a chaotic condition. A genius like Raghunandana having, to his advantage, the natural claims of a respectable Brahmin and paṇḍita of Navadvīpa—the academic metropolis of Bengal—easily outshone others in the field, and those who stood in closer proximity to this great dazzling smārta luminary could not look far beyond to the muffussilite Sāhuḍiyān twinkling at a far-off distance of centuries.

NILAKANTHA SÜKLA, A ROMANTIC AND PUGNACIOUS PUPIL OF BHATTOJİ DİKSİTA AND HIS WORKS—BETWEEN A.D. 1610 AND 1670

By

P. K. GODE, Poona.

So far only two MSS. of the poem *Cimanī Carita* were known. Both of them are in the Govt. MSS. Library under the following numbers :—

(1) No. 698 of 1886-92, dated Samvat 1800 = A.D. 1744.

(2) No. 357 of 1884-87, dated Samvat 1744 = A.D. 1688.

Both these MSS. record the date of composition of the work represented by the chronograms “मिहरमुनीदु” in MS. No. 357 of 1884-87 and “महीसुनीदु” in MS. No. 698 of 1886-92. In 1928 I proved in a note¹ published in the *Annals* of the B. O. R. Institute that the chronogram “मिहरमुनीदु” found in the MS. of A.D. 1688 was correct, being equal to 12 (मिहर = मिहिर = Sun) 7 (मुनि), 1 (दु) = Samvat 1712 or A.D. 1656. Recently I have published a paper² on the historical background of the चिमनीचरित in which I have presumed the identity of the author of the *Cimanī Carita* with the author of a work on grammar called the *Sabda Sobhā* composed in A.D. 1637, both these authors having the same name and surname : नीलकण्ठ शुक्ल. After the publication of this paper my friend Dr. V. RAGHAVAN of the Madras University informed me that there is a third MS. of the *Cimanī Carita* in the Anūpa Library of Bikaner. Through the courtesy and kindness of the Director-General of Education of Bikaner and the Librarian of the above library I got prepared a copy of this MS. which bears No. 3036 of that Library. This MS. is very important as it is dated “Samvat 1726” = A.D. 1670. It was written 14 years after the date of composition of the *Cimanī Carita*. It is also older than the B. O. R. Institute MS. of A.D. 1688 by 18 years. We get, therefore, the following dates of the work and its subsequent copies :—

- * A.D. 1656—*Cimanī Carita* composed by नीलकण्ठ शुक्ल.
- „ 1670—Date of the Bikaner copy of the poem.
- „ 1688 } —Dates of the B. O. R. I. MSS. of the poem.
- „ 1744 }

1. *Annals*, Vol. X, pp. 331-332.

2. Vide pp. 149-158 of the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VI (1941) : “The Historical Background of the *Cimanī Carita*, a Romantic love-poem by a pupil of Bhattojī Dīksita dealing with the love of the daughter-in-law of Allāh Vardī Khān Turkmān (Between A.D. 1606-1659).”

It is clear from the above dates that the Bikaner MS. of the poem is the oldest dated copy and hence very useful from the textual point of view. This copy contains the correct reading of the chronogram viz. “मिहिरसुनीन्दु” unlike the approximately correct reading “मिहिरसुनीन्दु” or the hopelessly incorrect reading “महीसुनीन्द्रु” or its suggested emendation “महीसुनीन्द्र” (= 1471 Samvat) by Peterson. The Bikaner MS. justifies my correct interpretation of the date viz. A.D. 1656 and at the same time illustrates the importance of the oldest-dated copies of works not only for determining their texts but also for the verification of dates left uncertain by the readings of comparatively later copies of these works. It should, therefore, be noted that in the present stage of our chronology we must endeavour to bring to the notice of scholars all dated MSS.³ of works and then to point out the oldest dated MSS. of these works. I have accordingly published some papers⁴ on these lines with a view to study the chronological perspective of both the original works and their subsequent copies. With these remarks about the oldest dated MS. of the *Cimanī Carita* I record below my evidence regarding the identity of the authors of the *Cimanī Carita* (a love poem) and the *Śabdaśobhā* (a work on grammar). This work was composed in A.D. 1637.⁵ A MS. of this work is dated 1680 (Samvat 1736).⁶ This is the oldest dated MS. of the *Śabdaśobhā* so far discovered by me. In the concluding verses⁷ of the *Śabdaśobhā* we get the following details about its author :

3. My friend Dr. S. M. KATRE has been collecting some data regarding dated MSS. in different MSS. Libraries.

4. So far I have published the following papers on the oldest dated MSS. of works :—*Annals* (B. O. R. I.) Vol. XX, pp. 145-152 ; A. Vol. XX, pp. i-iv ; *J.O.R.* (Madras) Vol. XIII, pt. i, pp. 47-53 ; *NIA*, Vol. I, pp. 249-253 ; *NIA*, Vol. I, pp. 558-561.

5. Vide *Annals* (Tirupati) Vol. I, Pt. 2—My paper on Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, p. 122.

6. MS. No. 183 of 1882-83 in the Govt. MSS. Library (B. O. R. Institute). The Bikaner copy of the *Cimanī Carita* was prepared in A.D. 1670.

7. These verses read as follows in MS. No. 183 of A 1882-83 :—

“शुक्लजनार्दनपुत्रो वल्लभाचार्यस्य दौहित्रः ।
अभ्यस्तशब्दशास्त्रो भट्टोजिदीक्षितछात्रः ॥ १ ॥
महसि प्राप्तनिजजन्मा कवि नीत (ल) शर्मा निर्मितमेनम् ।
विनिर्ममे शैवः ॥ २ ॥
यद्यपि खलु बहु लोचनी न दृषाक्लेशस्तदप्येषः ।
तुष्यतु तदेव तेजो विलसति यस्य प्रसादोयम् ॥ ३ ॥
त्रिनवषड्दशमब्देतिहासे विक्रमादित्यात् ।
शिवरात्रौ शिवपदयो निजकृतिराधायि नीलकण्ठेन ॥

The chronogram त्रिनवषड्दश = Samvat 1693 = A.D. 1637, the date of composition.

- (1) He was the son of शुक्र जनार्दन.
- (2) He was the son of the daughter of one वछाचार्य.⁸
- (3) He was the pupil of भट्टोजिदीक्षित and had studied शब्दशास्त्र.
- (4) His name was नीलकंठ कवि.

There are similar verses⁹ at the end of the चिमनीचरित, which bear close objective similarity to the verses at the end of the *Śabdaśobha*, besides furnishing identical details regarding parentage. The verses of the *Cimanī Carita* give us two important details about नीलकंठ शुक्र viz. (1) हीरा, the name of his mother and (2) भट्ट श्रीमंडन the guru of नीलकंठ in अलंकृतिशास्त्र. While in the शब्दशोभा he states that he was the pupil of भट्टोजिदीक्षित in the चिमनीचरित he states that he studied *alankṛtīśāstra* under भट्ट श्रीमण्डन,¹⁰ whose identity needs to be investigated. It is clear from the verses about Nīlakaṇṭha in the *Cimanī Carita* and the *Śabdaśobhā* that these works are by the same author as they contain identical particulars viz. :—

- (1) नीलकंठ the name of the author.
- (2) शुक्र जनार्दन the name of his father.

8. This वछाचार्य needs to be identified.

9. I quote verses from the Bikaner MS. of the *Cimanī Carita* dated A.D. 1670 :—

“शुक्रजनार्दनपुत्रो वछाचार्यस्य दौहित्रः ।
 पठितालंकृतिशास्त्रो भट्टश्रीमंडनछात्रः ॥
 हीरामिधान पातिव्रत महसिप्राप्त निजजन्मा ।
 कवि नीलकंठशर्मा निरमाच्चिमनीचरित्रमिदम् ॥
 मिहिरमुनीन्दु मितेन्देतिक्वन्ते विक्रमादित्यात् ।
 शिवरात्रौ शिवपदभ्यो निजकृतिराधायि नीलकंठेन ॥

इति नीलकंठकविकल्पितं चिमणीचरित्रे समाप्तम् । संवत् १७२६ ॥

The genealogy of the author as recorded in the above verses is as follows :—

जनार्दन शुक्र × हीरा daughter of वछाचार्य

↓
 Son

नीलकंठ [pupil of भट्ट श्रीमंडन who was his guru in *alankāraśāstra* (पठितालंकृतिशास्त्रः)]. Compare the epithet “अभ्यस्तशब्दशास्त्र” in the verses of शब्दशोभा]

10. I wonder if भट्ट श्रीमण्डन, the guru of नीलकंठ in *Alankāraśāstra* is identical with मण्डनमिश्र साहित्यरसपोषिन्, the author of नानार्थशब्दानुशासनम् (Vide BURNELL's *Cata. of Tanjore MSS.*, p. 50, London, 1879). This work is described as a dictionary of homonyms alphabetically arranged according to the finals. It appears to have been based on the lexicon *Vaijayanī* to a considerable extent. (Vide AUFRECHT CCI, 285.)

*(3) वछाचार्य, the name of the mother of the author.

(4) Both the works viz. शब्दशोभा (A.D. 1637) and चिमनीचरित (A.D. 1656) were completed and dedicated to god शिव on a शिवरात्रि day. (In both these works we find the following line common :— “ शिवरात्रौ शिवपदये निज-कृतिराधायि नीलकण्ठेन ” ॥). To these details common to both the works we may add the following found in either of these works :—

(5) महोजिदीक्षित was his guru in शब्दशास्त्र

(6) भट्ट श्रीमंडन was his guru in अलंकृतिशास्त्र

(7) हीरा was the name of his mother, the daughter of वछाचार्य, who was the maternal grandfather of नीलकण्ठ.

My study of the *Cimanī Carita* has proved the romantic nature of Nilakanṭha Śukla. He appears to have composed this work in his old age (in A.D. 1656) when he was no longer under the influence of the veteran grammarian Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, his early guru in शब्दशास्त्र. We must, therefore, see if our author of a romantic bent of mind composed any works on the lines of the *Cimanī Carita*, based on a contemporary scandal in the harem of Allā-Vardī-Khān Turkmān, a great Muslim nobleman of Shah Jahan's Court (between A.D. 1606 and 1660 or so).

A poem of the name ओष्ठशतक by one नीलकण्ठ has been recorded by AUFRECHT.¹¹ The only MS. of this poem is described by Weber¹² in his Catalogue of Berlin MSS. It is in the Chambers Collection and consists of 118 verses. This small work of नीलकण्ठ is devoted to a poetical description of a young lady's lower lip as stated in verse 2 at the commencement of the poem. The concluding verses¹³ of the poem men-

11. CCI, 76— “ओष्ठशतक” Kāvya by Nilakanṭha, W. p. 171.

12. *Cata. of Berlin MSS.* by Weber, Vol. I, 1853, p. 171 ; MS. 586 (Chambers 740)— श्री कवि नीलकण्ठ ओष्ठशतकम् ”

Begins :—

“ वदनकमलमुद्यन्मन्दहासप्रचारम्
विरचयति निकारम् यत्प्रसादान्मुखांशोः ।
तदिदमधरबिम्बं जीवनं मीनकेतो—
मम वचसि विधत्तां धुर्यमाधुर्यधाराम् ॥ १ ॥
कस्याश्चिन्नव वयसो लवणिमकल्लोनीयमानमनाः ।
विरचयति नीलकण्ठो बिम्बाधरवर्णनं तदपि ॥ २ ॥

13. *Ibid.*, these verses read :—

“ शुक्लजनार्दनपुत्रो वछाचार्यस्य दौहित्रः ।
पठितालंकृतशास्त्रो भट्टश्रीमण्डनछात्रः ॥ ११७ ॥
हीराभिधानं पातिव्रतं महसि प्राप्तनिजजन्मा
कवि नीलकण्ठ शर्मिनिर्मितामेना विनिर्ममः (मे) शैवः ॥ ११८ ॥

इति श्रीकवि नीलकण्ठ विरचितम् ओष्ठशतकम् संपूर्णम् ॥

tion details about the author which are practically the same mentioned in the चिमनीचरित; viz. (1) father's name शुक्र जनार्दन, (2) वल्लभार्य maternal grandfather, (3) भट्ट श्रीमंढन, the guru of the author in *alanhkāśāstra*, (4) हीरा, the mother of the author. In fact there is almost complete objective identity of the verses in the चिमनीचरित with those in the ओष्ठशतकम्. It is, therefore, clear that the author of the शब्दशोभा and the चिमनीचरित composed this romantic poem viz. the ओष्ठशतक represented by the rare MS. in the Berlin library.

There is another work mentioned by AUFRECHT¹⁴ called the जारजातशतक. It is also represented by a MS. in the Berlin Library (Chambers Collection) described by Weber in his Catalogue on the same page¹⁵ where he has described the ओष्ठशतक MS. This MS. begins :—

“यः कव्यनास्मदीये काव्ये परकीयतामवदत् ।
तस्य कृते कर्तुमिदमारब्धम् जारजातशतकम् ॥
यः परकीयं काव्यं स्वीयं ब्रूतेऽथ चोरयेद्योऽर्थम् ।
इह तावपि प्रसक्तौ मन्तव्यौ जारजाततया ॥”

The purpose of the जारजातशतकम् as defined by our author नीलकंठ in the foregoing lines seems to be a tirade against literary plagiarism, a subject of perennial interest in all countries and in all ages characterized by literary activity. This whole poem is not before me but judging by the 2 introductory verses I have reason to believe that the poem contains a fling and also a sting at some of the contemporary critics of Nīlakaṇṭha, the author of the शब्दशोभा, चिमनीचरित and ओष्ठशतक,¹⁶ who may have entertained feelings of

14. CCI, 206—“जारजातशतक by Nīlakaṇṭha Sarman, Weber, p. 171.”

15. Weber's Cata., Vol. I, p. 171—कविनीलकण्ठदर्शनम् जारजातशतकम् in 110 verses. It contains a chronogram :—

“भुनिमि हि कांशुपहावरमहीमि ते रादम्”

which Weber corrects as—

(“मुनि सितांशु महीधर महीमि ते वर्षे ?”)

= 1717. This chronogram is continued as—

“व्यतिकानो (क्रान्ते) नृपसाहसार्कसमयात्”)

If Weber's correction of the chronogram is approved the date of composition of the work is Sarh. 1717 = A.D. 1661. चिमनीचरित was composed in A.D. 1656 (Sarh. 1712).

16. Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar notes a MS. of अधरशतक by नीलकंठशुक्र in the State Collection at Bikaner not catalogued in R. Mitra's Catalogue of Bikaner MSS. (Vide p. 49 of S. R. B. Report of Second Tour—1904-05, 1905-6). He observes on page 51 as follows.

“अधरशतक by Śaiva Kavi Nīlakaṇṭha, son of Śukla Janārdana and Hīrā, grandson on the mother's side of Vatsācārya and pupil of Bhaṭṭa Maṇḍana (same as ओष्ठश Weber's Berlin Cata., p. 171). The author seems to be the same as that of the शब्दशोभा noticed above (p. 44).”

pugnacity towards his contemporaries. A work of Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla not recorded in AUFRECHT's catalogue is शृङ्गारशतक in 124 śloka. A MS. of this work has been described by H. P. SHASTRI¹⁷ in his *Catalogue of Kāvya MSS.* in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This work also shows the romantic vein of Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla even from the very commencement of his career as the work was composed in *Samvat 1687* i.e. A.D. 1631. He composed his work on grammar six years later in A.D. 1637. This work also was completed by the author on a Śivarātra day like the शब्दशोभा and the चिमनीचरित. I close this paper with the following tabular statement regarding the works of Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla :—

Page 44— शब्दशोभा by Nīlakaṇṭha, pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and son of Śukla Janārdana and grandson on the mother's side of Vatsācārya—This MS. was in a private collection at Jesalmere. Prof. BHANDARKAR's suggestions contained in the above remarks are amply borne out by the details about the works of Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla set forth in the present paper.

17. *Des. Cata.* of Kāvya MSS. (Vol. VII) A. S. B. Calcutta, 1934—Page 168—MS. No. 5204— शृङ्गारशतकम् by Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla, son of Śukla Janārdana and Hira, daughter's son of Vatsācārya and the pupil of Bhaṭṭa Maṇḍana, Folio 28.

Beginning :—

“ तानि प्राधि दिनानि येषु रजनी सेहे तमिस्रापदं
सृष्टिः सा विरराम यत्र भवति ज्योत्स्नामयो नातपः ।
अयान्यः समयस्तथाहि तिथयो यस्यामुखस्थोदये
हस्ता हस्तिकया हरति शतशो राकावराकी यशः ॥ १ ॥
गुरुमध्ये हरिणाक्षी मृदुटिकाभिः प्रहर्तुकामं मां ।
दरयंत्रितरसनाग्रं सचकितनयना निवारयांचके ” ॥ २ ॥

End on Folio 13A—

शुक्लजनादन पुत्रो वत्साचार्यस्य दौहित्रः ।
पठितालंकृतिशालो भट्टश्रीमण्डनछात्रः ।
हीराभिधान पातिव्रत महसि प्राप्तनिजजन्मा ।
कवि नीलकण्ठ शर्मा निर्म्मिति मेनां विनिर्ममे शैवः ॥
त्रिदिवमपि विजेतुं प्रस्थितात्साहसङ्कात्
मुनि वसुरसचन्द्रैः सम्मितेन्द्रे व्यतीते ।
अपचिति विधयैनामात्मनः काव्यकृतिं
शिवपदि शिवरात्रौ नीलकण्ठो व्यधत् ॥

इति नीलकण्ठकल्पितं शृङ्गारशतकं शिवार्पणमस्तु

From Folio 13 to 24A the MS. contains अधरशतकम् of Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla) which begins as in the Berlin MS. described by Weber and ends as “ इति नीलकण्ठ कविकल्पितमधरशतकं । ”

I have not been able to trace any MS. of जारजातकम् of our author in Indian libraries so far.

Work	Date of Composition	Dates of MSS	Remarks.
	A. D.	A. D.	
1. शृङ्गारशतक	1631	...	A poem.
2. शब्दशोभा	1637	1689	A work on grammar
3. चिमनीचरित	1656	1670 1688 1744	{ A poem based on a Contemporary Scandal in the harem of a Muslim nobleman.
4. ओष्ठशतक or अधरशतक }	1661 (?)	...	{ A poem on the lower lip of a young lady.
5. जारजातशतक	...	...	{ A poem on plagiarism. No date has been recorded by Weber.

MISCELLANY

AN EARLY ATTEMPT OF THE ARYANS AGAINST THE NĀGA CULT.*

Till very recently the majority of scholars in the field of ancient research agreed on one issue, namely, that the R̥gveda was the earliest of the Indian writings and that all the origins of the later socio-religious activities could almost be traced to this first Aryan production. But many of the problems still remained unsolved, i.e. the abrupt rise of the Hindu Trinity, the early beginnings of the so-called heterodox systems, the cult of the Nāgas, Ābhiras and so on. Though various explanations were given, even on the ground of comparative philology, yet there was something unconvincing in all that to a conscientious reader and thinker. In fact the nature of humanity is such that it wants to probe deeper into any problem that is presented before it. And, fortunately enough, we find that after a working of about a century or more very wonderful discoveries were made at Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and other sites. The materials obtained therein along with the innumerable picto-phonographic inscriptions as deciphered by the eminent Iberian scholar the Rev. H. HERAS, S.J., have actually proved that they are capable of acting as a background from which all the later streams of thought could have originated. Further if one were to compare all this to a screen, we feel sure, that one can visualise the various methods adopted by the Aryans towards Aryanising this ancient lore handed down by our ancestors to posterity. However, we shall now turn our attention to the problem of the early attempts of the Aryans against the Nāga cult.

Nāga cult in the Proto-Indian Period.

The Mohenjo Daro seals¹ have provided us with ample materials in regard to the prevalence of the Nāga cult in those hoary times. As Father HERAS has pointed out, that, one of the symbols of Ān, the prototype of the historic Śiva, is the serpent.² An inscription reads :

“Mīn en mun kaṇ pāv”, meaning, “the snake of the shining worshipful three-eyed one.”³ This inscription evidently indicates the association of the Serpent with Ān (Śiva).

Again one of the seals represents Ānas standing in the middle and the serpents are shown above on both the sides of his shoulders. A third seal represents that Ān is seated in the middle and two devotees are shown as seated on his either side. They are protected by the Nāgas.⁴

Further as Father HERAS would suggest it, many of the seals represent the celestial tree as being protected by the Nāgas.

* Paper read before the Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad.

1. I am indebted to Father H. HERAS, S.J., for supplying me with all this information personally.

2. HERAS, *The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to inscriptions*—*Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 1 ; also his work ‘*La Religion de los Proto-Indios y su Evolucion en las naciones Mediterraneas* C. I, No. XIII, (MS).

3. MARSHALL, M. D., 251.

4. PHOTO, M. D., 1929-30, No. 7991 ; cf. HERAS, *The Plastic Representation of God Amongst the Proto-Indians*, Sardesai Com. Vol., p. 227.

All this clearly proves the fact that the Nāga cult had already attained prominence in the Proto-Indian period, perhaps only to receive a shocking blow at the hands of the Aryan immigrants. We shall examine the problem presently.

The Indra-Vṛtra Myth.

It cannot be gainsaid that the Aryans never believed in the serpent cult before they entered the precincts of India. At least a close study of their history during the different stages of their migration does not disclose anything otherwise. Therefore, there would be nothing surprising, if we find that immediately after their advent, the first step that they took in Aryanising the Nāga cult was by the introduction of the Indra-Vṛtra myth. In our opinion, this myth is a pure creation of the Vedic Aryans probably innovated as a denotation of their distastefulness or abhorrence of the custom of the serpent- veneration as practised by the indigenous peoples of India. Add to this there seems to have been one more instinct amongst these early immigrants when they introduced this myth, and that was evidently the one of the racial superiority and a consequent superiority of their gods also. Indra was their mighty lord, and if he was to destroy the leaders and armies of the heroic peoples of India—the so-called Dāsas, Dasyus and Asuras—he must even do so in the case of their gods also. In fact, he is invoked to destroy the Śiśna-devāḥ⁵ (which according to us means the nude figures of Āṇ), Mūra-devāḥ⁶, or even Kṛṣṇa,⁷ (the God of the Ābhīras). Eventually Vṛtra, who is also designated as *deva*⁸ in the R̥gveda, was the Nāga *par excellence* of the Dravidians, and he was to meet the same fate of his other co-deities, and that too at the hands of Indra alone. Now we shall have a brief purview of the various characteristics of these two Vedic personalities.

Vṛtra.

Vṛtra is described as the chief adversary of Indra. Hence in many hymns Indra is designated as *Vṛtrahan*, the same as *Verethraghna* in the Avesta. The act of his killing Vṛtra is referred to as *Vṛtra-turya* or *Vṛtrahatyā*. Vṛtra is identified with the Greek Orthos.

The main characteristics of Vṛtra are : 'He is the son of Dānu,⁹ which is the name of his mother. He is once designated as Ahi or serpent. He is without feet or hands.¹⁰ The hymns refer to his head,¹¹ jaws,¹² his hissing, and snorting. It is said that *Vṛtra causes thunder, lightning, mist and hail*.¹³

Vṛtra has a hidden (*nīya*) abode, whence the waters, when released by Indra, escape overflowing the demon.¹⁴ He lies on the waters,¹⁵ or enveloped by waters at the bottom (*Budhna*) of the *rajas* or aerial space.¹⁶ He is also described as lying on a *Sānu* or summit of a mountain,¹⁷ or as having been cast down by Indra from lofty heights.¹⁸ The number of his fortresses is said to have been 99.¹⁹ Vṛtra was the encloser of the streams.²⁰ The expression *Vṛtras* (plural) also occurs once.

In the Brāhmaṇas Vṛtra is identified with the moon.²¹ Once he is designated as a Brahmin. The story of Indra's exploit over Vṛtra is of free and common

5. A. P. KARMARKAR, Fresh and Further Light on the Mohenjō Daro Riddle, *Annals of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute*, Vol. XXI, pp. 122-23.

6. *R̥gveda*, VII, 104, 24 ; X, LXXXVII, 2.

7. D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, pp. 82-83.

8. R. V. I, 32.12.

9. R. V. I, 32.9.

10. I. 32.7.

11. I. 52.10 ; 8.66.

12. I. 52.6.

13. I. 3.

14. I. 32.10.

15. I. 121.11 ; 2.11.19.

16. I. 52.6.

17. I. 80.5.

18. VI. 3.19.

19. VII. 19.5 ; 8.82.2.

20. III. 33.6.

21. VII. 19.4.

occurrence in the Epics and the Purāṇas. However, therein he loses his original serpent-character, and is described as being the son of Tvaṣṭā.²²

Exploits of Indra.

As Bal Gangadhar TILAK has beautifully summarised the results of the Indra-Vṛtra fight : "there are four simultaneous effects of the war" says he, "the release of the waters, the release of the cows, the recovery of the dawn and the production of the sun".²³ The Rgvedic hymns give rather a graphic description of the fight. 'Heaven and earth tremble with fear when Indra strikes Vṛtra with his bolt.²⁴ Even Tvaṣṭṛ, who forged the bolt, trembles at Indra's anger.²⁵ Indra shatters Vṛtra with his bolt on his back;²⁶ strikes his face with his pointed weapon;²⁷ and finds his vulnerable parts.²⁸ Indra smites Vṛtra who encompassed the waters,²⁹ or the dragon that lay around the waters³⁰ (or even *on* the waters). Indra is designated as *Apsujit*. Vṛtra was obstructing the waters³¹ for many dawns and autumns, and Indra let loose the waters after slaying Vṛtra.³² Indra cleaves the mountains thus making the streams flow or letting the cows free.³³ He set free the pent up springs, udder of the mountain.³⁴ He made the seven Rivers (*sapta-Sindhavah*) flow.'³⁵

Various Theories.

The word Vṛtra is generally derived from "Vṛ" to 'encompass'. However, without going into the question of the veracity of the above interpretation, we shall briefly summarise the various theories propounded by the scholars in the East and West. It should be noted at the outset, that "the great majority of Vedic scholars regard the slaying of Vṛtra and the release of waters of referring to the atmospheric drama of the thunderstorm in which the demon of draught is pierced by the lightning and made to surrender the pent up waters, which fall to the earth in the form of rain".³⁶

Hermann OLDENBERG interpreted the myth as 'indicating the freeing of the waters from the prison of the cloud-mountain. But the conception in the Rgvedic environment was transferred into the freeing of the earthly waters from the earthly mountains'.³⁷

HILLEBRANDT observes, that 'Vṛtra the encompasser' was originally a personification of cold and ice, a 'winter-giant'. Indra was a Sun-God, his original task being to free the waters from the clutches of the ice-demon. He further remarks that "the demon who surrounds the rivers, who lies on the streams or mountains, handless and footless, who shuts up, covers, chains, binds the waters, when Indra with his thunderbolt pierces in his sleep, is no phenomenon that is intelligible on Indian soil or has its analogon in the language of the poets".³⁸

Tilak interpreted the myth in an altogether different fashion. He says "But whether the exploits of *Vṛatrahān* were subsequently ascribed to Indra, or whether Indra, as the releaser of captive waters, was afterwards mistaken for the God of rain, like Tisṭrya in the Avesta, one fact stands out boldly amidst all details, viz., that captive waters were the aerial waters in the nether world, and that the capacity

22. Cf. MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 159.

23. TILAK, *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, p. 255.

24. R.V. I. 80. 11; II. 9-10; VI. 17.9.

25. I. 80.14.

26. I. 32.7.

27. I. 52.15.

28. III. 32.4; V. 32.5.

29. VI. 20.2.

30. IV. 19.2.

31. II. 11.5.

32. IV. 19.8.

33. I. 57.6.

34. V. 32.1-2.

35. I. 32.12.

36. GRIFFITH, *The Religion of the Rig Veda*, pp. 180 ff.

37. OLDENBERG, *Rig Veda*, 51, n. 1.

38. HILLEBRANDT, *Vedische Mythologie*, iii, pp. 162 ff.

represented the annual struggle between light and darkness in the original home of the Aryans in the Arctic region".³⁹

GRIFFITH suggested an interpretation just midway. "At any rate," he says, "it seems clear that Indra like Varuṇa was a regent of both heavenly and earthly waters. Vṛtra may be interpreted, then, anything which obstructs the waters, whether draught-demon in the case of the heavenly waters, or mountain-barriers or snow in the case of the earthly waters".⁴⁰

In our opinion, none of these theories are applicable to the famous myth, especially in view of the fact, that none of these scholars have been able to appreciate and evaluate the historical back-ground of the Indra-Vṛtra myth. The gist of the Indra-Vṛtra myth indicates that, Vṛtra is a serpent (Ahi)⁴¹ *par excellence*. He manipulates lightning, thunder, mist, darkness and hail (*cf. supra*). And Indra is said to have killed such Vṛtra and made the seven rivers flow, and the sun to shine.

Now, as we have remarked above the creation of this myth seems to have been the first step taken towards Aryanisation of the cult of the Nāgas, which was already in vogue in the Mohenjo Daro times. The Mohenjo Daro inscriptions and representations have already indicated that the serpents acted as an emblem of An, and that they were venerated also. The Aryans on the other hand, instead of making Indra to subdue these, seem to have thought it wise to represent them as being killed at the hands of Indra. The exact phenomenon seems to have occurred in the land of Kashmir. We shall see whether the local legends of the Nāgas supply us with any clue regarding this phenomenon.

The *Nilamata Purāṇa* details two or three legends which are of absorbing interest. It is said that, "at first, after it (Kashmir) had been desiccated, human beings could live there only for six months. The remaining half of the year, it was occupied by the *Piśācas* or goblins under their ruler Nikumbha. At the beginning of spring when the snow had melted away the *Piśāca* king with his whole army left the country and went to fight the goblins that live in the ocean of San, viz., the great desert of central Asia. Then the human inhabitants came to live in Kashmir during the summer, but when they had gathered their harvest and the winter approached, the *Piśācas* returned and no human being could abide owing to the excessive cold. Thus it continued during four Yugas. Then it happened that an old Brahmin, Candradeva by name, stayed behind and found a refuge in the subterranean palace of Nila, the king of the Nāgas. Not only did he find shelter here against the cold but the serpent king consented to his wish that in future the people be allowed to dwell in the country the whole year round. Moreover Nila imparted to his guest the rites which should be observed by the inhabitants of Kashmir. From that time onwards the people were no longer troubled by the *Piśācas*, and there was no heavy fall of snow, as long as they observed the rites".⁴²

Again there is another legend which relates "that, the Nāgas were the cause of the heavy fall of snow. Further the account relates that the king was forced to reside in Darvābhisāra during the cold season, as the rites prescribed in the *Nilamata Purāṇa* were not properly observed".⁴³

There are also other stories that record that Kashmir was originally a lake and therefore, it was not habitable.

39. TILAK, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

40. GRIFFITH, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

41. R.V. I, 32.3.

42. VOGEL, *Indian Serpent-lore*, p. 223.

43. Kalhana, *Rājataranginī*, II, 28-31; STEIN'S *Transl.* Vol. I, pp. 5f. *cf.* VOGEL, *op. cit.*

Nāga Festivals—The festivals that are observed by the people of Kashmir in honour of the Nāgas also throw a flood of light on the problem. There are two festivals,⁴⁴ which are closely connected with the legend of the Piśācas and their occupation of Kashmir. The full-moon day of Caitra, the first month of spring, is the day on which Nikumbha and his host of goblins were wont to leave the country. On that date it is ordained that people should make a clay image of Nikumbha and pay reverence to it. The night should be passed with music and the next day the people should ascend the hills to pay farewell to Nikumbha. The next festival takes place in the month of Āśvayuj, the first month of autumn.

Later another feast is observed at the first fall of snow. In this the Himālaya, and Hemanta and Śisīra are worshipped. The Nāga also is worshipped, as the snowfall is attributed to his agency alone.⁴⁵

In fact the whole position has been beautifully described by Dr. VOGEL. He says: "From more than one passage in Kalhaṇa's chronicle it is obvious that in the Happy Valley the Nāgas were eminently deities. The people of Kashmir had indeed good reason to hold them in veneration. For here, too, they were the water-spirits inhabiting lakes and springs, who when propitiated, granted timely rain for the crops. But when roused to anger, they caused hail-storms, heavy snow-fall, and disastrous floods".⁴⁶

Location of the Indra-Vṛtra fight.

Now if we are able to locate the site of the mythical fight also in the happy valley, we shall be in a still safer position to corroborate our view-point. Hillebrandt, however, had proposed a foreign origin in regard to the location of this particular phenomenon. Tilak followed the same example but in another manner. But we agree with Professor Sten KONOW when he strongly opposes this view-point. He says: "Under such conditions as prevail in the Punjab, it would not be natural to ascribe the annual increase in the bulk of the rivers to the activity of the rains. The rain-fall is, over a large area, too scanty to account for it, and, moreover, the great rise in the rivers takes place before the proper rains set in. Those who are unaware of the influence exercised by the melting of the snows in the high hills, as the Vedic Aryans probably were in some way hemmed in behind the mountains, but released in the period preceding the summer floods. That is just the time of storms and cyclones, that may "bring frogs that are not blown away, even in the desert" (*dhanvañ cid ā rudriyāsaḥ mīhaṃ kṛṇvanty avātām*, R. V. i, 38, 7)..... In such circumstances, we have no right to consider the god Indra who slays Vṛtra as a pre-Indian God or demon. The ancient popular tales about serpents and their slayers have been adapted so as to suit the peculiar condition of Punjab and in thus localising them, the name of Indra would naturally present itself to the mind..... In other words the Vedic story about the slaying of Vṛtra and the deliverance of waters is Indian, and Indra can only have come to play his rôle in it on Indian soil".⁴⁷

Résumé.

Thus the various legends depicted in the *Rājataranigmi* and the *Nilamata Purāṇa*, as read along with the problem of the location of the Indra-Vṛtra fight, point but exactly where the working of the Aryans lay. The difficulty in the way of correctly interpreting the version mainly lay in the fact that the earlier notions of the destructive power of the Nāgas (and that of due veneration to them) was kept

44. VOGEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-24.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

46. VOGEL, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

47. Sten KONOW, *The Aryan Gods of the Mitani People*, pp. 13-14. We agree

absolutely apart when the question of the interpretation of the Indra-Vṛtra myth was at issue, and *vice versa*. In fact the question was being studied without bringing the two elements together, namely, that of the destructive element of the Nāgas as depicted in the local legends of Kashmir (i.e. by causing snow, hail, storm, rain and darkness, for which reason they are propitiated even to the present day) ; and secondly, that of the Indra-Vṛtra myth. Thus the proper solution was never arrived at, mainly on account of the fact that the two elements remained isolated till now.

Thus, this is a clear case of misappropriation on behalf of the Aryans. The Nāgas are being propitiated and venerated in Kashmir and other parts of India. And the Aryans, on the other hand, made Indra to kill Vṛtra, simply perhaps to make these beliefs free from the abortive elements contained therein. Nay, they even continued in the same strain, and we find in the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* that even Rudra invoked to destroy Vṛtra.*⁸

KONOW pointed out that "other slayers of dragon are the Armenian Vahagn, the Norse Sigurd who killed the serpent Fáfnir and acquired the Sigurd who killed the Hydra, St. George who slew the dragon, and so forth."⁹ However, neither the existence of these myths, nor the arguments put forth by HILLEBRANDT and TILAK need at all come in our way in accepting the above conclusion, mainly because the creative faculty of the Aryans, in the field of literature seems to become perceptible first on the Indian soil alone.

A. P. KARMAKAR.

with this statement only in regard to location of the myth.

48. *White Yajurveda*, XVI, 5.

49. KONOW, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

OBITUARY

PROFESSOR DR. HAR DUTT SHARMA, M.A., Ph.D.

23rd March 1899—11th September 1942.

On 11th September 1942 the world of Oriental scholars lost one of its energetic and devout research workers in the sad and premature demise of Vidyā-Sudhāraka Professor Dr. Har Dutt Sharma, the celebrated Editor of the *Poona Orientalist* and Professor of Sanskrit, Hindu College, Delhi ! Sanskrit learning has lost in this unfortunate closing of a scholar's brilliant research career at the young age of 43 one of its able devotees, who though not robust in health was almost a live wire when he undertook and executed any literary work. Unlike many of our scholar friends, Dr. Sharma was extremely social and made numerous friends in all the walks of life. He loved the company of scholars and above all a scholarly atmosphere, and it was this atmosphere that developed his contact with Poona and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, of which he was a life-member.

Dr. Sharma passed his B.A. examination with credit in 1920 and was awarded a gold medal with a Post-graduate scholarship. He secured a First Class at the M.A. examination of the Benares Hindu University (1921-22) and later served as Professor of Sanskrit at the Ramjas College, Delhi (1922-1926) and the S. D. College, Cawnpore (1926-34). Between 1934 and 1936 he worked as a Sanskrit Tutor to the children of Mrs. Ambalal Sarabhai of Ahmedabad. He then came to Poona and was entrusted with the work of preparing a Descriptive Catalogue of *Vaidyaka*, *Tantra* and *Dharmasāstra* Manuscripts in the Government Mss. Library, at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute. He completed this work with singular devotion and expeditiousness owing to his love for the study of Mss. and as a result the Institute has published his volume of the Descriptive Catalogue of *Vaidyaka* Mss. The work of printing the remaining volumes of his press copy is in progress. In 1937 Dr. Sharma was appointed Senior Professor of Sanskrit at the Hindu College, Delhi. He became thereafter the Reader in Sanskrit at the Delhi University. In these two capacities he worked up to the moment of his death.

Dr. Sharma studied under the late Dr. M. Winternitz of the University of Prague for his Ph.D. degree, which he obtained in 1930. The contact of Dr. Sharma with this renowned Orientalist left its mark on all the literary work done by him. In fact it engendered in him an ever-increasing thirst for research in the history of Sanskrit literature and critical editing of Sanskrit texts as will be seen from the list of his Works and Papers appended to this

note. His early studies at Benares, the seat of ancient and modern learning had much to do with his proficiency in the different branches of Sanskrit learning. The inspiration he received from his guru the late Prof. Rāmāvatāra Sharma of Benares had created in Dr. Sharma a deep regard and veneration for some of the veteran Sanskrit Pandits of Benares and other places in India. His command of Sanskrit as a medium of literary expression is clear from the commentaries he wrote on some of the texts edited by him. Though a *Sāhitya* connoisseur by training he was not without an innate taste for *Saṅgīta*. He was the Editor of the *Poona Orientalist* since its very inception in 1936 and it is really tragic that the recently published issue of this journal (Vol. VII, Nos. 1 and 2) should contain his last paper on "*Paraśurāmapratāpa*" ! Those who attended the sessions of the All India Oriental Conference will ever remember the vivacious and witty personality of Dr. Sharma, who always loved the company of scholars and it is a matter for pity that such a promising career should be nipped in the bud by the cruel hand of death !

—P. K. GODE

PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF THE LATE DR. HAR DUTT SHARMA

I. BOOKS

1. *Padmapurāṇa and Kālidāsa*.
2. *Jayamaṅgalā*, a commentary on the Sāṅkhyakārikā.
3. *Sāṅkhyakārikā* with *Gauḍapādabhāṣya*.
4. *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, Text only.
5. Do. with *Tattvakaumudī*, Edited in Collaboration with MM. Ganganath Jhā—Poona Oriental Series, No. 10.
6. *Contributions to the History of Brahmanical Asceticism, (Sanyāsa)*, Poona Oriental Series, No. 64.
7. *Kavindrachandrodaya*, Edited in collaboration with M.M. Patkar, Poona Oriental Series, No. 60.
8. *Amarakośa* with Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary, Edited in collaboration with Dr. N. G. Sardesai, Poona Oriental Series, No. 43.
9. *Bhāminivilāsa*, Poona Oriental Series, No. 50.
10. *Kāvya prakāśa*, X, Poona Oriental Series, No. 49.
11. Do. I, II and III. Poona Oriental Series, Nos. 51 and 57.
12. *Brahmasūtra-Catuhṣūtrī Sāṅkarabhāṣya*, Poona Oriental Series, No. 70.
13. *Saduktikarṇāmyta*, Punjab Oriental Series, No. XV.
14. *Descriptive Catalogue of Vaidyaka Mss. from the Govt. Mss. Collection at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1939.*
15. *Descriptive Catalogue of Tantra Mss.* (in press).
16. *Descriptive Catalogue of Dharmaśāstra Mss.* (press-copy was prepared by Dr. Sharma in 1937).

II. ARTICLES

1. *Indian Music.*
2. *Jayamaṅgalā and other commentaries on Sāṅkhyasaptati.*
3. *Some Problems connected with Brahmanical Asceticism.*
4. *Kuntala's conception of Guṇas.*
5. *The Sāṅkhya Teachers, Festschrift Moriz Winternitz, 1933, pp. 225-231.*
6. *Exact Position of Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā, Poona Orientalist VI, i, ii, 109.*
7. *Meaning of the word उत्तर Poona Orientalist, I. i. 26.*
8. *Narbadā and Garha, Poona Orientalist, VI, i. ii. 113.*
9. *Unpublished inscriptions of Paramāra, Poona Orientalist, IV, i. ii. 22.*
10. *The Poet Bhānukara, Annals of the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, XVII, pp. 243-248.*
11. *An Analysis of the Authorities quoted in the Śārngadharapaddhati, Poona Orientalist, XVIII, pp. 77-84.*
12. *Hāsyā as a Rasa in Sanskrit Rhetoric and Literature, Poona Orientalist, XXII, pp. 103-115.*
13. *Some Unknown Poets of Mithilā, Jha Commemoration Volume, 1937, pp. 359-365.*
14. *A Forgotten Event of Shah Jahān's Reign, Kuppuswamy Sastri Commemoration Volume, 1935 (?) pp. 53-60.*
15. *Vaiṣṇava Philosopher Priyādāsa and his Works, Indian Historical Quarterly, XVI, pp. 318-330.*
16. *Nirṇayakaustubha, Indian Historical Quarterly, XIV, pp. 345-352.*
17. *The Subhāṣitahārāvali of Hārī Kavi and Some Poets enjoying the Patronage of Muslim Rulers, Indian Historical Quarterly, X, pp. 478-485.*
18. *Lakṣmaṇotsava.*
19. *Some Baghela Rulers and the Sanskrit Poets patronised by them, Krishna-swamy Aiyangar Commemoration Volume.*
20. *Nidānacintāmaṇi.*
21. *Paraśurāmapratāpa, Poona Orientalist, VII, i-ii, pp. 1-26.*
22. *A Brief Survey of the work done in the Domain of Classical Sanskrit Literature during the last 25 years (1917-41) (to be published in the Silver Jubilee Volume of the B. O. R. Institute, Survey Section).*

‘VENĪDATTASARMAN, AND HIS RASIKA-RANJANĪ’

By

G. V. DEVASTHALI, Nasik.

AUFRECHT in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* I, p. 603 notices Venīdatta-Sarman Tarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya, son of Vireśvara and grandson of Lakṣmaṇa, as an author of two works : (i) The *Alaṃkāra-candrodaya*, an independent work on rhetorics and (ii) The *Rasika-ranjanī* which is a commentary on Bhānūdatta's *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*. He also notices that this latter was composed in 1553 A.D. The same information is repeated by Dr. S. K. DE in his *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, I, p. 253. But on page 315 of the same work he has noticed the pedigree¹ of Venīdatta back to his great-great-grandfather, Mahīdhara. The other things that Dr. DE notices about our Venīdatta on the same page are that ‘he had the surname of Śrīvara and that he belonged to the nāgacchatradharadvijottamakula. But no attempt is made there to trace the identity of these ancestors of Venīdatta ; nor is any notice taken of any other works of his, but for the two already referred to above. Prof. KANE² and Mr. KRISHNAMACHARIAR³ have complacently accepted the date of Venīdatta's *Rasika-ranjanī* as given by earlier writers. Nor have they thrown any further light on his works and pedigree.

The best and the most authentic source of such information is naturally to be sought for in the MSS. of Venīdatta's works and the notices of these appearing in catalogues. We, therefore, turn to I. O., Nos. 1198 and 1216 which contain notices of MSS. of the *Alaṃkāra-candrodaya* and the *Rasika-ranjanī* respectively. The former supplies us with pieces of information, which have been only partially noticed by Dr. DE. Thus the names of Venīdatta's ancestors up to his great-great-grandfather have been duly noticed. But two very important facts have been lost sight of. Firstly it is Mahīdhara, a māntrika of Kāśīpurī, who is described as belonging to the nāgacchatradharadvijottamakula—a fact which may ultimately convey the idea that Venīdatta being a direct descendant of Mahīdhara also belonged to that same kula. What is worth noting here is that the name of the nāgacchatradharadvijottamakula is as old as Mahīdhara himself⁴ and not an invention of any

1. His genealogy is given thus : Mahīdhara (a māntrika of Kāśīpati)—Kal-yāna—Lakṣmaṇa—Vireśvara.

Kāśīpati here is obviously a mistake for Kāśīpurī which means Benares.

2. Cf. his *Introduction to the Sāhitya-darpana*, Index of authors and works on the *Alaṃkāraśāstra*, No. 586.

3. Cf. *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 776, n. 8

4. To be more accurate, it is older still ; for, Mahīdhara speaks of his grandfather as being born in the ahicchatra-dvijacchatra-vatsagotra. Also cf. notes 14 and 18 below.

one of his descendants ; and this is an invaluable piece of evidence for tracing the identity of the great-great-grand-father of Veṇḍatta. The second important fact, which has been noted neither by EGGEING nor by DE, is that Kalyāṇa, the son of Mahīdhara, is called 'sakalārtimardanakarah' which shows that Kalyāṇa was a physician.⁵

नागच्छत्रधरद्विजोत्तमकुले विख्यातकीर्तिवरः
संजातो हि महीधराभिषुबुधः काशीपुरीमान्त्रिकः ।
तत्पुत्रः सकलार्तिमर्दनकरः कल्याणनामामभवत्
तस्मान्नन्दनरामलक्ष्मणवरौ जातौ धराधीश्वरौ ॥

Turning next to I. O., No. 1216 again we find some points which Dr. EGGEING has failed to notice. In a few stanzas towards the end of his *Rasika-rañjanī* Veṇḍatta has given us some information about himself. Thus the 3rd stanza there runs as follows :—

श्रीमन्नागफणातपत्रनृहरेभक्तो धरामण्डनो विख्यातो महिदासभट्ट इति यस्तन्पत्न्यज्यात्मजः ।
वेणीदत्तकवीन्दुशेखरवरः सत्कर्तृवागीश्वरस्तस्येयं कृतिरुज्ज्वला वितनुनां मोदं सतां सर्वदा ॥

Dr. EGGEING is evidently puzzled over the expression 'tan-naptṛ-jany-ātmajaḥ' which in the light of the pedigree of Veṇḍatta as noted above presents no difficulty to us now. It simply means the son (*ātmajaḥ*) of the son (*janya*) of his grand-son (*tan-naptṛ*), which in simple terms would mean the great-great-grand-son of Mahīdāsa. Now in the first line of the stanza quoted above Veṇḍatta tells us that this Mahīdhara belonged to *nāga-phaṇātapatra* which corresponds to the *nāgacchatradharadvijottamakula* noted above. This, therefore, is clear evidence in favour of identifying this Mahīdāsa with Mahīdhara mentioned above. But the more important thing to be noted in this stanza is couched in the expression 'nṛharer bhaktaḥ', a fact which is not taken note of by any of the scholars up to now.

From the foregoing discussion it will thus be clear that Veṇḍatta was the great-great-grand-son (*naptṛ-janya-ātmaja*) of Mahīdāsa alias Mahīdhara; that this Mahīdhara belonged to the *nāgacchatradharadvijottamakula* and was a *māntrika* of Kāśīpurī and a devotee of Nṛhari : and lastly that Mahīdhara's son Kalyāṇa, the great-grand-father of our Veṇḍatta, was a physician of some note. These facts which, though conveyed by Veṇḍatta in both of his known works, had up to now escaped the notice of all, are highly important inasmuch as they help us to establish the identity of these two ancestors of Veṇḍatta and consequently enable us to fix his date with tolerable accuracy.

But before we take up that topic let us examine the accuracy of the statement that Veṇḍatta composed his *Rasika-rañjanī* in 1553 A.D.⁶ This date,

5. I quote the whole stanza here so that the reader may get these facts from the original source.

6. According to Dr. EGGEING the date of composition is 1552. Cf. I. O., No. 1216.

as we have already seen, is accepted by all eminent scholars including Prof. KANE and Dr. DE. But none seems to have gone deeper into the matter till now and the statement of Dr. EGDELING in his catalogue seems to have been looked upon by all as quite incontrovertible. But looking up I. O., No. 1216 again we find Venīdatta giving us the date of composition of his *Rasika-rāñjanī* in a stanza which unfortunately is mutilated in the original MS. and has been amended by Dr. EGDELING. He, however, is not quite sure about the accuracy of his emendation as is clear from 'the question mark that he has put before it.' I quote the stanza in question as we find it in I. O., under number 1216.

‘वेदर्ष्यधीं (? 1. व्यन्धीं) दुगणिते वत्सरेऽर्जुनरासके ।
त्रयोदश्यां रवौ पूर्णा टीका रसिकरञ्जनी ॥’

As read with Dr. EGDELING's emendation the stanza gives us the year 1474 as the date of composition of the *Rasika-rāñjanī*. But whether Venīdatta is giving us the date according to the Śaka or the Samvat era is a moot point. According to Dr. EGDELING⁸ the date is given in the Śaka era and, therefore by adding 78 to the above date he arrives at 1552 as the date of the composition of Venīdatta's commentary. In this particular case there is one main difficulty which apparently prevents us from understanding the above date as belonging to the Samvat era. For, by doing so we shall have to say that the commentary was composed in 1474 minus 56 i.e. 1418 A.D.—a conclusion, which is incompatible with what we know about the date of Bhānudatta⁹ whose text Venīdatta has commented on in this commentary. But taking into consideration the fact that our Venīdatta is a resident of North India, very probably of Benares, it is more likely than not that he would speak in terms

7. Matters would have been simpler had it been possible to secure any manuscript of this commentary containing the complete text of the stanza in question. But unfortunately no such manuscript has as yet been brought to light. And the Madras and Alwar manuscripts of this commentary do not contain this stanza at all.

8. Other scholars evidently may be said to follow Dr. EGDELING. But Dr. V. RAGHAVAN in a letter dated Madras, 16th July, 1941, writes to me, "In the manuscript of the *Rasikarāñjanī* on the *Rasataranginī*, composed by Venīdatta Śarma, described in the India Office Catalogue under No. 1216, we find a date 1474 (1417 A.D.), if this is taken as Samvat. The I. Office catalogue and AUFRECHT who give the date as 1553 A.D. take this as Śaka." Quoting the relevant stanza he further adds, "Vatsara here seems to refer only to the Samvat. Compare Vācaspati : Vasvaṅkavasu-vatsara."

I have set forth my own reasoning why I think we should read Samvat rather than Śaka in this stanza. But as is shown in the body of this article it is impossible to accept 1417 A.D. as the date of the composition of Venīdatta's *Rasika-rāñjanī*.

9. Bhānudatta's patron, Virabhānu, is said to have flourished between 1500 and 1550 A.D. Bhānudatta must, therefore, be assigned to the beginning of the 16th century A.D. For Bhānudatta read B. O. R. I., Annals, XVIII. iii. pp. 243 ff.; and Prof. GODE's article in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, II, pp. 197-99 and 254-58.

of the Samvat rather than the Śaka era.¹⁰ And if on that assumption we arrive at some improbable date it may be due to the fact that the emendation made by Dr. EGGLING is not suitable or accurate. The very source, therefore, of our information regarding the date of Veṇidatta is thus rendered doubtful by the suspicious nature of Dr. EGGLING's emendation and also by the debatable question as to whether Veṇidatta is speaking in terms of the Śaka or Samvat era.¹¹ Under these circumstances it will be readily conceded that any details which are calculated to throw any light on the problem of the date of Veṇidatta are certainly quite welcome to us.

To come, therefore, to the main theme. The three facts noted about Mahīdhara, the great-great-grand-father of Veṇidatta, viz. that (i) he belonged to the nāgacchatradharadvijottamakula, that (ii) he was a māntrika of Kāśīpurī, and that (iii) he was a devotee of Nṛhari afford sound basis for identifying him with Mahīdhara, the author of the *Mantramahodadhi* and several other works. That the author of the *Mantramahodadhi* and several other works was a devotee of Nṛhari is shown by the fact that he not only pays obeisance to Nṛsiṃha in the beginning of each one of his works but also by the circumstance that he ultimately dedicates almost every one of them to the same deity.¹² And we have also a direct statement from the pen of Mahīdhara himself to the effect that he realising the futility of mundane life left off all attachment and stayed at Benares in full devotion to Narasiṃha.¹³ Again in his *Mantramahodadhi* we are told by Mahīdhara himself that he belongs to ahicchatra.¹⁴ Thus we find that Mahīdhara, the author of the *Mantramahodadhi* and other works, was a māntrika of Benares, belonged to ahicchatra (which is the same as nāgacchatra) and was a devotee of Narasiṃha. There can thus be no doubt that this Mahīdhara the author of the *Mantramahodadhi* etc. is identical with the great-great-grand-father of our Veṇidatta. This identity again finds support from the circumstance that Veṇidatta's great-grand-father is Kalyāṇa and is described by Veṇidatta as the shatterer of all diseases (sakalārtimardana-karaḥ, which may also mean the shatterer of the diseases of all). Mahīdhara, the author of the *Mantra-*

10. By the bye it may be noted that both Mahīdhara as well as Kalyāṇa have always given the dates of the composition of their works in terms of the Samvat era only. Cf. the several quotations given by Prof. GODE in *B. O. R. I. Annals*, XXI, pp. 248-61.

11. On the grounds stated above (and also in note 10) it may now be safely assumed that Veṇidatta is giving us the date in terms of the Samvat era only.

12. For exact references and quotations in this connection the curious reader is again referred to *B. O. R. I. Annals*, XXI, pp. 248-61.

13. Read :— महीधरस्तदुत्पन्नः संस्तरामरतां विदन् ।

निजं देशं परित्यज्य गतो वाराणसीं पुरीम् ॥

सेवमानो नरहरिं तत्र ग्रन्थमिमं व्यधात् ।' मन्त्रमहोधि.

14. Read : 'अहिच्छत्रद्विजच्छत्रवत्सगोत्रमुद्भवः' मन्त्रमहोधि.

To be more accurate, this line speaks of Mahīdhara's grand-father as belonging to the kula in question. Also cf. note 4 above and 18 below.

mahodahi etc., tells us that his son's name was also Kalyāṇa;¹⁸ and we know again that this Kalyāṇa has composed a work on medicine called the *Bāla-tantra*. Thus there seems to be no difficulty in identifying Kalyāṇa, the author of the *Bālatantra*, with Kalyāṇa, the sakalārtimardanakara great-grand-father of Venīdatta.

Mahidhara in his works has left us sufficient information about himself to enable us to conclude that 'Mahidhara's line flourished at ahicchatra (i.e. Rāmanagara) for no less than four hundred years and that he left his country and went to Benares say between A.D. 1575 and 1590 for spiritual reasons after having passed his early life at ahicchatra or Rāmanagara'.¹⁹ He has also told us that his grand-father's name was Ratnākara; and that his father Pūmabhadra¹⁷ was a devotee of Rāma; and lastly that his grand-father Ratnākara was ahicchatra-dvijacchatra-vatsa-gotra-samudbhava.¹⁸ He has at least nine¹⁹ works to his credit, four of which were composed between A.D. 1589 and 1603. The literary activity of Mahidhara can, therefore, be said to have extended over the last two or three decades of the sixteenth and the first decade of the seventeenth centuries.

Kalyāṇa seems to have composed only one work which, he tells us, was composed by him in the year 1644 of the Śaṃvat era which corresponds to A.D. 1587. Little is known about Lakṣmaṇa, the grand-father of Venīdatta and his elder brother Rāma. Nor have we any appreciable information about Venīdatta's father Vireśvara except that he is probably the author of the *Rasa-ratnā-valī*, and that he was a great naiyāyika.²⁰ But even this is highly

15. Read : कल्याणाभिधुत्रेण तथान्यर्द्रिजसत्तमैः ।

.....संप्रार्थितः स्वमत्यासौ नाम्ना मन्त्रमहोदधिम् । 'मन्त्रमहोदधि.

16. B. O. R. I. *Annals*, XXI, p. 258.

17. MS. No. 91 of the Bhagavatsinghji Collection of MSS. in the University Library, Bombay—a MS. of Mahidhara's *Mantra-mahodadhi*—has the following stanzas giving the names of Mahidhara's father and grand-father :

‘अहिच्छत्रं (र. त्र) द्विजच्छत्र (र. त्र) वत्सगोत्रसमुद्भवः

आसीद्वत्सकरो नाम विद्वत्ख्यातो धरातले ॥

तत्तनूजो रामभक्तः पूर्णभद्राभिधोऽभवत् ।

महीधरस्तदुत्पन्नः संसारासारतां विदन् ॥

निर्द्ध देशं परित्यज्य गतो वाराणसी पुरीम् ॥’ etc.

According to AUFRECHT the name of Mahidhara's father is Rāmabhakta (cf. *Cat. Catal.* I, p. 444b and also *Bodl. Cat.*, No. 154); the same is the view of Dr. EGGEING (cf. I. O., No. 2576). Prof. GODE gives it as Phanu or Phanūbhakta on the strength of some stanzas which he has reproduced at *B. O. R. I. Annals*, XXI, pp. 253-55. But on page 256 of the same number he has quoted a stanza from Kalyāṇa's work *Bālatantra* which would give the impression that Mahidhara's father was Ramadāsa. Cf. ‘रामचन्द्रार्चनरतो रामदासः सतां प्रियः ।’

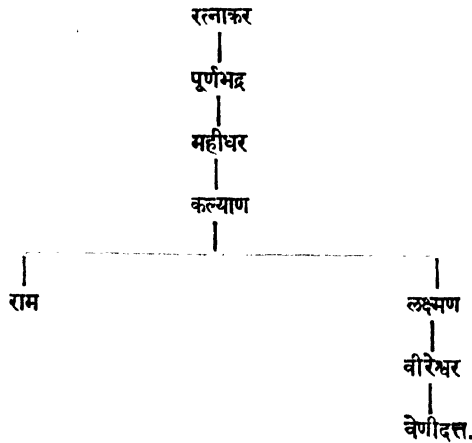
18. Read :—st. 1 quoted under note 17 above.

19. AUFRECHT records many more. But one cannot be sure whether they are one and all from the pen of the same Mahidhara.

20. Cf. Dr. DE, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, I, 315.

doubtful. For, the only Ms.²¹ that has been referred to as the basis for this information, contains nothing to support the identity of this Vireśvara the author of the *Rasa-ratnā-valī* with Vireśvara the father of Veṇīdattaśarma.

Having thus gathered what information we can we are now in a position to state the pedigree of Veṇīdattaśarma from his sixth ancestor or the grand-father of his great-great-grand-father in the form of a genealogical tree as follows :—



Now we can proceed to the problem of Veṇīdatta's date. Of all the ancestors of Veṇīdatta we are pretty sure about the date of his great-great-grand-father Mahīdhara whose literary activity as we have seen above must have spread over the last three decades of the 16th and the first decade of the 17th centuries. Taking this as the starting point and calculating at the rate of three decades per generation we come to the conclusion that Veṇīdatta being the fourth descendant of Mahīdhara must have flourished about nine to twelve decades later than the latter ; or that Veṇīdatta's literary career must be located somewhere within the first three decades of the eighteenth century. The absurdity of the date of composition of Veṇīdatta's *Rasika-rañjanī* as it is generally accepted to-day becomes clear when we remember that Veṇīdatta's great-great-grand-father Mahīdhara and great-grand-father Kalyāṇa wrote their works towards the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. The erroneous nature of the generally accepted date of the composition of Veṇīdatta's *Rasika-rañjanī* being thus self-evident we have to give it up in favour of the date that is suggested by the new light that we are now able to throw on the problem by a careful co-ordination of facts as they have been given to us by Mahīdhara, Kalyāṇa,

21. I. O. No. 1233. The only informative stanza that we get there is:

‘इति नैयायिकोत्तंसवीरेश्वरकवेः कृतिः । रसरत्नावली कण्ठे कृता चिन्तामणीयताम् ।’

Prof. KANE appears to be right in not recognising the identity of this Vireśvara with Veṇīdatta's father. Cf. Intr. to *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Index of authors and works on the *Alaṅkāraśāstra*, Nos. 618 and 723.

and Venīdatta. The date of the composition of Venīdatta's *Rasika-rañjanī* must, therefore, be said to lie somewhere in the beginning of the eighteenth century A.D.

From the foregoing discussion it becomes abundantly clear that the emendation suggested by Dr. EGGEING in the stanza in which Venīdatta has given us the date of the composition of his *Rasika-rañjanī* is far from being accurate and that we have to think of some other emendation so that it will give us a date which will be in conformity with the conclusions arrived at above. It is, therefore, inevitable that the third word in the compound should signify the number seven. The most suitable emendation that can be suggested is, therefore, 'adri'.²² Now with this change the expression would be 'vedarṣyadrindu' which would signify the year 1774 of the Samvat era, corresponding to 1718 A.D. This date, agreeable though it may be to the conclusion arrived at above, is yet rendered improbable by the fact that the MS. of the work under discussion described by Dr. EGGEING at I. O., No. 1216 is itself copied in Samvat 1772. It becomes thus necessary that the second word in the above-mentioned compound should also be emended. And in fact even Dr. EGGEING thought it necessary to do so. Now one peculiar circumstance that we have to bear in mind in suggesting an emendation in this particular case is the presence of the 'repha' in the third syllable. This 'repha' makes it imperative that whatever word we suggest to stand as the second member in the compound it must begin with the vowel r : and the only word, beside the word ṛṣi that is already there, that can suggest itself is ṛtu. Thus emended the compound giving the date of the composition of the *Rasika-rañjanī* would be 'vedartvadrinduganite' signifying 1764 Samvat or c. 1708 A.D. The acceptability of this last mentioned emendation is enhanced not only because it does not conflict with the date of copying referred to above, nor yet simply because it gives us a date which is quite in conformity with the conclusions arrived at above on the strength of the light thrown on the problem by a co-ordination of all available material, but also because it bears a close resemblance²³ to the reading that we have in the original, so that its susceptibility to be changed into the present corrupt reading by a careless hand or from an illegible and carelessly copied original may be easily granted. But whatever be the view taken regarding this emendation in the stanza giving the date of the composition of the *Rasika-rañjanī*, it will be readily conceded now that the date of its composition can never be 1553 A.D.

22. The emendation 'abdhi' as suggested by Dr. EGGEING may be acceptable if it is interpreted to signify the number seven. The idea of the oceans being even is not quite unknown and may also find some sort of justification in the following words of Rājaśekhara :

'सप्तसमुद्रवादिनस्तु शास्त्रादनपेता एव' काव्यमीमांसा, अ० १७.

This, however, would mean doing violence to usage.

23. This resemblance can be realised by writing the two expressions in the Devanāgarī characters : वेदर्वर्द्धीदुगणिते and वेदर्वर्द्धीदुगणिते.

and that it cannot be far removed from 1716 A.D. the year in which the MS. at I. O., No. 1216 was copied and also that very probably it is A.D. 1708.

As regards Venīdatta's works two of them have been already noticed by several scholars. But I have discovered a MS. of another work of this author. In the Jaṭā Śāṅkara collection of MSS. in our College we have a MS. of the *Bhāgavata-prakrama-prakaraṇa* of Tarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya Venīdatta-śarman. This work, though almost a sort of pamphlet, is not yet without an importance of its own; for in it the author has discussed the question whether the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* that we have at present is to be included in the list of the eighteen Purāṇas. Incidentally he has also indicated his views on the chronological relation between the Mahābhārata on the one hand and some of the Purāṇas on the other. But more of this later on when I publish this work which will be interesting for those who are interested in the study of the epics and the Purāṇas in general and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in particular.

THE ARECA-NUT TRADE AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY (1600 to 1661)

By

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Areca is defined to be the tree and fruit of a genus of palms. "species of which bears nuts chewed normally with betel-leaf." In 1599 we find mention of "a great quantie of Archa. . . . which fruite they eat. . . with the leaf of an Herbe which they call Bettele." Betel-nut is of course a misnomer. It is called so because it is chewed with betel-leaf. I shall use arecanut here to denote what is commonly called betel-nut.

As to the variations of the actual name in the documents they are many. We have already noticed "archa." We also find "arcaes," "arequa" and "areque."

Regarding the use of this nut among women in the East during this period we need not go further than Pyrard's "elles vsent aussi jour et nuict du bettel comme font les Indiens", and Linschoten's "the whole day long" the Portuguese and other women " (doe nothing but sit and) chawe leaves (or herbes) called Bettle with chalke and a (certaine) fruit called Arrequa " "like oxen or kine chawing the cud." This habit according to Linschoten they "received of the Indian Heathens" who are "so used to chaw it that wheresoever they go or stand they must alwaies have (of) those leaves carried with them." "Betteles Arreguas and Chalk", he adds, "standeth by their bed " "in the night." The beauties of the day like many of today used to "let the sap goe down in " "their throats " "and spit the rest out " "whereby they make their mouthes so red and blackish, that to such as know it not it is strange to see."

In the Maldives Pyrard noticed royal officers distributing "a portion of betel and areca arranged and prepared in a different style from their ordinary (I mean of the common folk, for the king and the great lords always use it prepared in the same way)." The Commoners "carry betel always on them in the folds of their waist, and it would be a dishonour to a man to be found wanting it."

Chewing betel was thought to be responsible for their not "know(ing) " "what it is to suffer from toothache." It was also regarded as "a very heating herb" and one of the reasons why the women were "so hot and amorous" was thought to lie in the fact that they were "continually eating beetle."

Fray Sebastian Manrique who visited India during the period under review speaks of a present of "a bira of betel leaf" from a local military officer off the Hijli coast, and "a magnificent golden Betel-carrier studded with diamonds, rubies and emeralds" belonging to a Magh prince. The

prince, added Manrique, "then took off it a small box of gold ornamented with sapphires and rubies, filled with aromatic Betel, and presented it to me with his own hand." The box was ninety tolas in weight and the gems that decorated it were valued at over 60 rupees of those days. After presenting the betel-box the prince left. The custom of honouring a guest by handing him over "little packets of betel with his own hand" (thus doing him great honour) is also referred to later by this author. He also noticed "lovely green shade-giving areca-palms in the famous island of Gaṅgāsāgara" at the Bhāgirathā's mouth. "Areca... is daily eaten, says Manrique," by practically all Oriental Peoples, who mix it with Indian-leaf which the natives call Betele." It was regarded as "an excellent stomachic and sedative, besides removing unpleasant odours in the mouth and preserving the teeth when mixed with pure lime."

Arecanut grew not only near the mouth of the Hughli but also in various other parts of India, "not within the countrie" (as Linschoten says "but only on the sea coast, unless it bee some small quantitie." "The Bettele in Malacca," adds Linschoten, "tasteth well." "In Malabar this leaf" "is called Bettele, in Deca Gusrate, and Canara it is called Pam, in Malaion Siri, by Auicenna Tambul."

It also grew in Ceylon. Manrique found the island to be "covered with areca-nut palms." Pyrard testifies to Ceylon's rich crop of areca-nuts which grew "in such abundance that all India is furnished thence, and a great traffic is carried on to all parts, for whole ships are laden with it for conveyance elsewhere."¹ According to Dr. Pieris who relies on the Documentos Remittidos da India, "the areca crop though not properly attended to, yielded eight thousand amanoes, valued at twenty thousand pardaos." A pardão according to the Linschoter "is van silver : maer van equade alloy" and was coined at Goa. It was "as much as three Testones or three hundred Reijs Portinyall money." But there were pardãos of gold, a gold pardão being equivalent to half a gold pagoda. The latter was worth at this time about 5s. 8d.

Ribeiro who came to Ceylon in 1640 pointed out that "every year there (was) exported from the kingdom of Cotta up to a thousand champanas of areca... for this article is in great demand over the whole of India." The normal annual export was thus easily above 30,000 tons. It was according to the same writer "highly valued in the whole of India." "So great," says Father de Queyro, "was the (merchant's) thirst for areca that while its price there (in Candea) was formerly four larins, it was not available in the last days for 15.... and there was no silver jewellery which was not disposed of to invest in areca, with the result that whatever the Portuguese had,

1. Hakluyt Society's (1) *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval*, (2) *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten* and (3) *Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique*.

went into 'that Kingdom." In this connection the demand for "wax, sapan and other things" of Ceylon is also alluded to.

"The Captain-Majors of the arrayals," he continues, "had at one time four fine villages wherein they had much areca, besides what they obtained with the arms of the king from other villages and from Candea through the Vidānas."

Maetsuyker however thought in 1650 that though "a large quantity of arecanuts is yearly obtainable in this Island, and the best quality on this side," it is an article of little importance or value, "and may therefore well be resigned, without prejudice to the Company to private inhabitants." But because of its connection through Asiatic dealings with the lucrative cloth trade of South India, the Dutch decided to buy yearly "a large quantity of arecanuts and (send) it by the ships returning from Persia, Surat etc. to Coromandel, obtaining with the proceeds useful assortments of cloth goods." Later on however a considerable revenue was obtained by the Dutch from betelnuts.

"Arecanuts" were "much the most important item" in the products of Alutgama, Beruwela, "Calitunc," Maggone, etc. and trade in them was very lucrative according to Van Goens (1663). "The inhabitants" used to supply quantities of the same "at a cheap price." The Dutch officer also refers to "the fine, heavy and durable timber" of Ceylon the quest for which and arecanuts led (as we shall see later on) some Englishmen into captivity. The "people of the king" also had stocks of "rice, sugar, cattle and goats, chickens, butter etc." which van Goens expected them to sell to the Dutch in exchange for "cloth goods, salt, opium, copper etc."

Ladders made of areca trees were used for siege operations of those days. There is a reference to this by De Couto (for example) by 1560. In 1665 Pavilioen says that along with "paddy, plough oxen... coarse cloth, cotton, iron, steel, different kinds of dry stuffs, tobacco," opium, etc. areca-nuts were imported into the "Commandment of Jaffnapatam." The supply of betelnuts probably came mostly from other parts of the island at this time.

The English Company used to obtain it through the usual commercial channels. But on a few occasions privateering also procured some. It formed, for example, a part of the merchandise plundered by the Expedition, and is mentioned in a list of prize goods dated 15th February, 1619.

In the same list we find logwood, rice, sugar, coconuts and cinnamon also. The two Malabari ships which the Hopewell seized on 20th March, 1628, carried cocoanuts, betelnuts and cardamomum seeds. Predys "Cape Merchant of (Hall's) Fleete" says that these Indian ships were then off Vijayadurga, later the stronghold of the famous privateers (and quasi-privateers), the Angrias. When chased they took refuge up the river at the mouth of which that town was situated. The local authorities ransomed them for 9,000 "larees" (about 3601). Of this amount 4,000 were actually paid, "which we thought better to take then nothing." The English fleet

was at the same time carrying on peaceful commerce. "A brisk trade was carried on with the natives for cattle and sheep in exchange for red beads" on 9th July. At Cape Cabeceira however the English landed, and marching into the interior "returned with some oranges and lemons and nineteen negers" after the inhabitants had fled in panic. Captain Slade's exploit in capturing a cargo of "dried penang," (betelnut) is referred to, for example, in Bix's letter of 20th June, 1628. A number of cocanuts and a quantity of "Cophra which is the meat within the cokernutts" (all captured goods) were sold at Bantam the same year. We are also told on 21st December, 1628 that the flotilla from Bantam brought the captured "areck or bettle nuts," cinnamon and red-wood to Surat.

Everyone in Bengal knows the story of an inspector of police who was given a cow in order that he might have a chew of arecanuts and betel-leaf. They have become the symbolic equivalents of a gratification (often illegal) in India. It is therefore interesting to find in Halstead's letter of 16th April, 1622 (from Ahmadabad) a reference to this idiom. The document speaks of a European quasi-privateering attack on a "Choule juncker". The English factors were (according to this account) "kept prisoners in "Mausūf Khān's "house four dayes and four nights." "Our hellhound Governor (the local Indian magistrate) "sayd wee were ransadoes and one with the (Dutch?) and comanded the "Kotwāl (Police-Superintendent) "to keep us saufe." Afterwards he "bed the Cottwall let me (Halstead) free upon givinge suertie.....(which was) given to content, yet nothinge could be well, till the Cottwall had somethinge to eate bettle." The cost of this "belle" was Rs. 25 (of those days). "So we agreed with him for 25 rupp(ees) besydes somethinge that his followers had, which I could noe wayes shunne, it beinge a custome that all which come in the comon prisone must paye or have their clothes torne from their backs."

In this connection it may be noted that Lewis Smyth writing to George Ball at Bantam says in 1617, "Since, the Polema sent for him and gave him tobacco and serre (betel), he (an English factor) took it for such a kindness that at that time before he came home he promised to sell fifty Caftas for him at the English house." The offer of pāna-supārī is a recognition of social intimacy in India, even today. The English Company became deeply interested in its commercial possibilities as the period under review progressed. By the close of 1617 (for example) William Eaton wrote to Sir Thomas Smythe from "Firando in Japan" that he "arrived at the bar of Syam the 19th of January last past." They succeeded in obtaining among other merchandise a lading of "450 cattes of bittal nuts, cost laden aboard, the sum of 0012 tayas." The catt was equivalent to 1 1/3 lb. avoirdupois, and the "tay" to "5s. sterling."

We thus find that Siam was another country which grew betelnuts at this time. A sale of betelnuts in Surat is referred to in Wylde's letter of 11th-13th April, 1629. A lading of that commodity, arrack and coir in the

Francis is spoken of by Surat by the close of 1639. Next year we find that 175 bag. of betelnuts were obtained from Goa by Surat. The Supply (of about 300 tons) which carried it was searched by the Dutch. Francis Day, factor for the First General Voyage is accused of investing 4,000 rials of eight in the betelnut trade, by 1642. A rial of eight was "a Spanish coin more exactly described as a piece of eight rials—worth about 4s. 6d." Once he confessed "hee would private trade soe deepe that he would neither value his wages nor his stocke that hee putt in with the Company."

The betelnuts were said to be obtained through Tranquebar and brought to Madras. Shortly afterwards, four hundred packages of betelnuts were said to be brought for Day by the Hopewell. While on this voyage, Day and his friends (we may note incidentally) are said to have consumed two butts of Canary wine and two more of arrack, a part of it on an occasion when a great feast aboard the vessel took place, and 110 guns were fired. According to Day's own version, the betelnuts cost him 400 to 500 rials, and were packed in 180 or 190 bags. 30 bags were also brought on the same voyage for the Company. Bowman tells us by the close of 1646 that Ceylon "shipped" "beetle nutts in great quantities" "twice a yeare for Cost Cormondell etc." It was "worth heer (in Ceylon) commonly 10 Zerapheens a amanon (containing 27,000 nutts)." We however find that according to Day who made a statement before the Committees by about that time, betelnut was purchased by "the aminah by tale, which aminah contained 12,000 nuts and weighed 170 lb." The goods were put in bags weighing 150 to 160 lb. each. Temple pointed out that an amona was a measure of five and three-quarter bushels. Wylde's letter from Bantam (of 1647) says that a Daines sheepe. . . brought four horses for a pischcash to the king of Candy, and are likely to gaine comerce with the Chingalas which are the natives of this place (Zealan)." Some of the lucrative merchandises of the island are thus referred to. "They trade here in cynamon, beetlenutts, and all sorts of graync, which yields great proffitt one the Coast betwixt Trinckolamar and Metchlepatam." "Zealan," he adds, " (is a) place I thinke man never sawe a better, I say only for the mannaging of the Companies affayres; for trimeing of there ships and for good tymber man never saw better in these parts, Madraspatam being but a dunghill to it." On 12th October, 1651, the Assada Merchant after informing those interested of the withdrawal from Assada, reached Swally (as we have seen above) with a cargo of gold and elephants' teeth. She was next employed on a voyage to Bhatkal to pick up ladings of betelnuts on the way. A letter of 1654 alludes to what must have been a frequent annoyance of these days, a levy of "customs upon petty things sold" "in the market, as beetle, herbes etc."

By about this time, the eagerness of the English to trade with Ceylon and purchase her products directly from the local inhabitants led to various ventures. The gaining of some vantage points for developing commercial relationships with the island entered their minds rather early during this

period under review, and in the weakening of the Portuguese power they saw another opportunity of fulfilling their desire. "The Portugals" a letter from Persia (for instance) points out in 1632, "doe dayly decline in the Indies ; and noe question oportunitie wilbee offered, either at Syndie or Seland or other partes there adjacent, whereby to joyne issue with those people and settle a trade may prove very bennificiall." A few years later, the English are thinking of gaining certain commercial facilities as the result of an understanding with the Portuguese. "This yeare they (the Portuguese) have no succour from Portugall ; so that they are very much distrest and opporessed by the Hollanders at Goa, Zeiloan and Mallacca. We believe they would readily subscribe to furnish you (the Company) with pepper, cinnamon and as much freedome and security in some of theire forts (if not the fort itself) as wee can desire or they themselves owne. . . . They (the Dutch) intend now to assault Columbo, and it is thought they will carry it ; and then the Portugalls may bid adiew to Zeiloan, whilst the Dutch may boast of being masters of all the spice countries in the universe, pepper excepted."

Fourteen years later, Blackman and Pearce say, "What the Dutch hold in Zelon we believe the Portugalls would bee willingwee should enjoy, if by our assistance, they could bee driven out ; which were noe hard matter to doe, if the Parliament would please to engage therein." The forces of the Dutch according to them could be vanquished without great difficulty. "Seven or eight frigatts (and) four or five good ships would soone give them a law in India ; for though they are too hard for us at present, yet there strength is not soe greate as is imagined by us in England." They are also rather glad of the success gained by the Portuguese over the Dutch in Ceylon about two months previous to the date this letter bears. It was according to them an important victory. What happened was that Gaspar Figueyra de Cerpe, the Captain of Colombo (who was half a Simhalese) defied Homem (the Captain-General) imprisoned him, gathered an army, and vigorously attacked the Dutch in their fortifications at Angurūwatata, defended as that place naturally was by the waters of the Kaluganga almost on three sides. Before the resolute onslaught of this half Asiatic commander, the fortified post yielded after a gallant resistance of eleven days, and about 94 Dutchmen with a number of "lascarins" passed into captivity. A letter of 28th August, 1658 again speaks of direct English trade with Ceylon. "They (the Dutch) have taken three vessells belonging to some of our nation in the Bay, as they were trading to Zeylon and Jafanapatam, seizing upon the goods, imprisoning the men, and traversing them from ship to ship." Dutch documents point out that two English ships (not however belonging to the Company) were violating laws of war by supplying the enemy in Northern Ceylon with munition. Their seizure was thus justifiable.

Colombo—the "Origin" and "Mother" (according to the distracted Simhalese monarch) "of all the evils that have come upon this Island and on the natural kings of the same"—was attacked by the Dutch with charac-

teristic vigour and determination in 1655-56. As those Portuguese warriors bruised and famished dragged themselves away from the possession they had held so long, with full military honours, the Ceylonese historian could see not only the passing away of that European country's colonial grandeur, but also of the opening of a new chapter in the history of his own. "On that day, the 12th of May," says Father de Queyroz, "there marched out to lay down arms, 94 Soldiers, Captains and Officers . . . many of them sick and wounded and walking with sticks in hand; the *casados* who were not so numerous, but equally emaciated and feeble and with their banners displayed, drums beating, matches lighted, balls in their mouths," and carrying "words and arquebuses" when "able to carry them."

With the perseverance and doggedness which characterised their tremendous Eastern efforts during this age, the Dutch under their capable Commissioner, Superintendent Admiral and Commander Rycklof van Goens took Tuticorin on 1st February, 1658. Next the control over the pearl fisheries was to be rendered safe by the capture of Mannar. All Portuguese resistance was overcome. The cannon crashed through the enemy's ranks and the seas were swept off their flotillas. De Menses and others laid down their lives, but nothing could save the doomed Portuguese. The islet passed under Dutch control after the peaceful surrender of the fort. Then they sprang on Jaffna, where, after a gallant resistance of more than two months, the Portuguese flag was hauled down, and the fort changed hands in June, 1658. In the meantime the fort of Ham-en-Hiel guarding the entrance to Jaffna had fallen, because no drinking water was available.

"The enemy began the attack of the *praça*," says Father de Queyroz, "on the 16th of March of 1658 and continued it up to the 23rd of June, the play of the artillery and mortars being incessant." "An ounce of tobacco reached the price of 20 patacas, five leaves of betel half a *pardao*," and "there was no Arrack to dress a wound." "The greatest battle was with famine and pestilence."

The English documents of the period naturally take full cognisance of these momentous happenings in the history of the Eastern activities of European nations. The letter of 12th April, 1656 written by Weale from Persia to Surat refers to the hostilities in Ceylon leading up to the surrender of Colombo. "The day after departure of the *Dyamont*, the Dutch landed their Portugall prisoners that came from *Zealoane* (five of their ships being arrived in the road thence). Most of them had bine captaines, and one gentleman of great quality; also a *padre*. In number their was 30, who, being cast on the shoare and not haveing wherewithal to buy themselves foode, came to the Companies house and desired us to furnish them with a place to lodge in, till wee could procure them a tranky to transport them to "their (then) chief station at *Kung* situated to the north of the Persian Gulf."

Again, a letter to the Company of 28th January, 1657 says :—" Last yeare they (the Dutch) took Zeloan and at this present by before Goa with 19 saile." On 12th July, 1658, shortly after Jafna had been taken by the Dutch, Greenhill and Chamber wrote from Fort St. George, " The Dutch are now become lords of all Zeylon, having taken Japhnapatam under command of Signor Ryckloff van Godes, and threaten both St. Thoma and Negapatam on this Coast, to extirpate the Portugall utterly in these parts." In a record of 16th October of the same year we find, " The Dutch now (though with the loss of a great many of their men) hath purchased all Zelone to themselves."

All this Dutch success in Ceylon was rather disconcerting to the English factors of those days. Surat says on 18th January, 1659, that " Mr. Hoddesdon " (employed sometime in Cochin) " is newly arrived from a port called Caille Velha " (Kayal to the south off Tuticorin). " He had been at a place called Tuticoree three leagues further, but the Dutch had newlie made an agreement with the people to settle there and would not suffer them to receive any benefitt of the shoare, not so much as water." The local people did not probably like this Dutch monopoly. They extended their hands in friendship to the English merchant. Tuticorin lying close to the Ceylon coast had heard all the news. The Dutch were held by Rājasimha to be guilty of breach of faith, and the Simhalese ruler was eager to see the last of them. " The King of Zcalone (was) much discontented with the Dutch for their false dealing after they had assisted them to take Columbo." His soldiers had been kept out, and the terms of the surrender of the city arrived at without Rājasimha's previous approval. Therefore Kayal promised the English representative that " if the English would settle a factory there, they would procure them great priviledges " from their own government, and " they were confident from Zealone they could procure store of cinnamon to be brought in small vessells that comes from thence to their ports." " Eight of the Chiefe merchants of those parts " wrote " a verie kind letter " to the English President, and he thought of sending Hoddesdon and others to establish " a factory there in the most convenient place for shipping." On 22nd August, 1659, the Committees enthusiastically approved of the project, and ordered, " And therefore you may goe on in the provision of them, in severall sorts, as much as you can with conveniencie." Hoddesdon died. But Travers and two others were sent to Kayal with money and " Europe commodities." When the Society called there in course of the same year, the factors were able to lade it with Calico and a parcel of pearls from the waters of Manaar.

Surat instructed Travers to supply them with betelnuts, redwood, saltpetre, pepper and cowries. By this time the Calicut factory also began its existence and Masters was sent there to obtain ladings of redwood and cardamon. " The wood though but little quantitie, (was) selling now for more then two for one, and the pepper 70 and 80 per cent." Masters was able to obtain " at short warning—to procure the lading of the Vine for Mocho, of

pepper, cardamons, bettlenuts and ginger. . . . Wee intend two persons to reside there, and if so bee one of them have occasion to journey to Cannanore "the best place to procur cardamons, this may be done in the raine tymes."

On 16th December, 1659, Masters was authorised to resort to privateering to keep other rivals out. Cloth and cinnamon however proved to be the two chief attractions at Kayal.

Travers was therefore instructed in 1660 to get into touch with "our vackeele" (wakil) at Cochin, Antonio Galvão, and find out the pro and cons of having a factory at Cochin, Porakad or Quilon "for the procury of pepper and beetlenutts." The Rajapur factors state in the same letter which refers to "Sevagyes forces" (dated 4th February, 1660) that they "intended to have fild her (the Rajapore Merchant) with rice, bettlenut etc. and so sent her to Persia and Coung." The Dutch however were determined not to allow this English project to succeed. In 1660, it is reported that "the Dutch will not vend any of the better sort (of cinnamon). Since their taking of Collumba they, having all in their owne hands will not vend any till it cometh to their desired price. Experience also hath frustrated our hopes in the attaining any Zealone cinnamon in Cale Velha." "Cinnamon, according unto order, shall be provided, though it will be dearer then what hath been sent home."

The Company's letter of 22nd August, 1659 had already pointed out that the price the Dutch were charging for their cinnamon at Surat was too dear. But nutmegs and mace were to be obtained from them. The officers were to make an attempt to fetch the aromatic bark through Kayal. It was to be transported here in small ships from Ceylon.²

2. *Ceylonsche Archiefstukken*, Nos. 1 & III; *Marine Records* Mis. vol. IV, No. 6; *O. C.* 1260, 1273; *F. R. Sur.* CII; *L. R.* VI, 582; 569; *F. R. Mis.* I; *O. C.* 1725; 1784; 2009, *F. R. Sur.* CII A.; *O. C.* 2378; 1461; 1725, 2318; Father de Queyroz, *Conquista*, Book V; *F. R. Java* vol. III, pt. III, 97, 626; *H. T.* I, XX, No. 586; XXI, No. 613; *O. C.* (Vol. XXV) 2548 2608; *F. R. Java*, vol. III, pt. III 96, 624; *F. R. Rajapur*, 79; *F. R. Sur.* vol. LXXXV, 14; *The Company's Letter Books*, Vol. II, 2350.

MISCELLANEA

PSYCHOLOGY OF FREEDOM AND RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS IN KULASEKHARA'S PHILOSOPHY OF DEVOTION

In a paper submitted by me to the tenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1940, I claimed that the Upaniṣadic seers were aware of the dialectic inherent in the mystical and religious consciousness. I also showed that the mystical consciousness was more a liberty-instinct, and apparently contradictory to the dependence-instinct that typifies the religious consciousness. These two were clearly represented by the words *asambhūti* and *sambhūti*, the former meaning the destruction of all obstacles to individual freedom and attainment, whereas the latter means the experience of Brahman-God. When they acted separately there resulted interminable darkness. These two have, therefore, to be practised together, the *asambhūti* being subordinate to *sambhūti* both these lead to the highest knowledge.

It is interesting to know that this view is corroborated by many of the real seekers after religious consciousness through the individualistic way of mysticism. Myicism, if not anything else, is thoroughly individualistic, for, from its very nature, it proceeds from the consciousness of the individuality of one's self, a right that it finds to be existent, a right that it finds to have been thwarted by the society, its laws and statutes, and by the family and everything in fact that obstructs the fullest exercise of individual choice. This fact of freedom it is that is at once the feeling of existence or *existen* as Kierkegaard, a Danish mystico-religious thinker of the last century, whose writings are now alone being made available to the English-reading public, says, and without this there can be no further development of consciousness towards a religious life. Man to be conscious of himself as a freedom-striving, freedom-loving being, as one who holds decisions to himself as coming out of his own reflective thought, must have arrived at that critical situation in his environment and conditions so as to be compelled to make the decisions by himself, irrespective of whomsoever else is involved in this situation. This extreme situation involving a radical choice of oneself has always been envisaged by the Indian Philosophers and Mystics as the feeling of despair, defeat and misery. The Buddhistic revolt against everything of the earth and nature seeking that utter nothingness of the universe, is indeed the Nothingness-feeling of the Universe. The Māyā is another variant of this nothingness-sense. Sāṃkhya, Nyāya and Vedānta all have their first starting-point in this feeling of misery which means the Dread of losing oneself. When therefore Kierkegaard makes the first psychological standpoint in religious consciousness the feeling of Dread—a dread that is sympathetic antipathy or antipathetic sympathy—a feeling that we bear to evil things such as a snake for example which attracts whilst it repels. Samsāra is this peculiar situation. The worldly life at once attracts and repels. *Asāraḥ samsārah*. Says Manu : *Ghore smin bhūta-samsāre nityam satata yāyini*.² It is because of this that man dreads this world. This awakened feeling that samsāra is not something to delight in but something to be mightily afraid of is the first step in religious or mystical awakening. The next step follows immediately. This dread of common life, the dread of losing oneself utterly in the universe, a dread that finally appears as dread of all, is a critical situation. It is a state of infinite possibilities. The self even, which thus finds itself in this parlous condition might feel itself to be nothing. It is the state of the soul

1. Kulasekhara, the author of the *Mukunda-māla* and *Perumāḷ Tīrumoṣi*, is one of the twelve Ālvārs, of Sri Vaiṣṇavism.

2. *Manu*, I, 50 (b).

in 'the shadow of valley of death' as Bunyan puts it, it may be the way to the 'vale of soul-making' too, when the soul decides to stand apart and alone out of the turmoil of the changing universe and gaze into its own depths. But such a relief from it—*vairāgya*—renunciation of the universe out of dread of it, is a passing stage. This state indeed is the most unenviable in the life of the mystic or religious man. Men at this moment, may, if they have been firmly conditioned by a right theology in their infancy and youth, find a relief from samsāric dread in the belief or faith in God, but such a faith would lack the acute self-decision which characterises the knowing of oneself. What one must consider under such conditions is that this period of self-choice that finally leads to the choice of the Supreme as the real source of our freedom may be a prolonged one or a brief one. In any case, one must consider in a psychological analysis the interim stage between renunciation and acceptance, Dread and Devotion. There are many who afraid of this dread, this vacuity of existence, and unable yet to know that this very vacuity reveals the inner poise of self-existence, the pure 'I', that gazes at its own finiteness and tremendous possibilities of annihilation or divinization, stands at the cross-roads of choice.

The Pāñcarātra Philosophy beautifully summarizes this aspect. There is to be the Choice of the Goal, *gopṭṛya-varaṇam*,³ which is the fourth stage in self-submission to the Divine. The first two are the *ānukūlyasya sankalpaḥ*—the willing of that which is helpful to the self. Stated without the knowledge of the Ultimate, it means the definite awakening of the sense of evil and good, the unhelpful and the helpful to one's own self. Man has by this already achieved the initial initiative in self-recognition and choice of oneself, *existenz*, as Kierkegaard puts it. The second is the complementary aspect of the former choice of the helpful, the renunciation of the Dreaded and the obstructive. This is done as beautifully shown by Kierkegaard as the losing oneself more fully in the dread rather than escape from it into the universe or object dreaded. This is a choice of the nothingness-feeling to the uncertain existence of the previous state, that from which escape has been necessitated. Choose misery, choose dread, choose the horror of being alone, to the horror of being in this interminable hell: this has been the advice of the mystics. Thus when one has chosen the helpful, his own well-being and freedom to the universe of his former affections that he now shuns and dreads, and has rejected firmly every one of the fascinations of that Dreaded Object or obstructions to the realization of oneself as *existenz*, as being a part from the rest of humanity and the world, when man stands in his loneliness, he has cast upon him the third effort of choosing the Object or his Goal. It is this that follows upon an intermediary stage of faith in the Divine as the Being who can save us—*rakṣiṣyati viśvāṣaḥ*. The consciousness of the Power and Ability of the Divine to help us out of this utter voidness of existence, which is aptly expressed by the ālvārs as the *viśeṣa-rasa* of the beloved, so typically expressed in the lives of the Gopis of the Bhāgavata, in the Purāṇa and actually expressed and experienced by the great Nammālvār and Kuṭāṣekhara and brought to its fullest climax of enjoyment in Āṇḍāl, is nothing more than that feeling of voidness, of vacuity without the One sole soul-sustaining presence of the beloved. It is undoubtedly this state of *nirvāṇa*, of *śūnyatā*, where life and meaning of all things have withdrawn into a dark haze and there is the straining after some flame of hope, some torch of illumination, some kind work of grace. This it gets in the faith that God will help us in overcoming the disaster of life's hopes and grant to man his existence or being. Man must enter into his decisive-faith in God, else it is certain that the way is long and arduous and verily a torture. It is clear this phase of psychical consciousness enfolds the sense of pathos overlain with a sense of sin,

3. *Ānukūlyasya sankalpaḥ prātikūlyasya varjanam |*
Rakṣiṣyati viśvāso gopṭṛya varāṇam tathā ||
Ātmanikṣepa kārpaṇye śadvidhā śaranagatiḥ |

(Ahir Bud. XXXVII, V. 18).

as clearly to be seen in the cry of the Gopi in the sixth ten of Kulaśekhara, in the wail of Devakī and Kausalya in the seventh and eighth tens and finally in the poignant realization of Daśaratha in the ninth ten of the sin of man in losing his God, his beloved, with whom one can never be separated even in thought. The consciousness of sin in Kulaśekhara's philosophy thus plays quite a large rôle, and it is seen that this is coeval with the recognition by Faith of the Divine Presence as the most intimate relationship between man and his God. As KIERKEGAARD remarks. "For one thing the self-knowledge on which the 'choice of oneself' depends is possible before God, because sin only emerges 'in the presence of God': and the consciousness of sin can alone give us a point of radical criticism of that very inner impulse of one's being which seeks to realize *existenz*."⁴

No other ālvār has so clearly and unmistakably shown the nature of this two-fold consciousness of sin and of faith intermingling in the *viśeṣa-bhāva* or *viraha-bhāva*, and has shown that there is fate in the move of things that is guided by the sense of the Omniscient God.

The surrender that follows upon this consciousness of the Lord who is chosen as the inner and outer Lord or all process and conduct, is the veritable conclusion of this effort at self-realization. He who knowing that he is a self dependent upon the Highest Being, does not offer it to God but pursues the path of selfishness may become an isolated being—a *kevala*, but for him the luminous mansions of God are for ever closed. Thus *Ātma-nikṣepa* is the conclusion—a most fitting and inevitable conclusion, of an awakened consciousness which is conscious of its own radical difference from the Divine. Self-surrender is followed by utter helplessness evoking compassion or pity (*kāṛpanya*). It is this final peak of surrender—*śaraṇāgati* that leads to the incidence of Grace on the soul.

Sri Kulaśekhara wonderfully illustrates the final state of prostration, of helplessness, in the Daśaratha-motif in his *Tirumozhi*. Such a profound helplessness in Kulaśekhara's view can be cultivated. It cannot be had without a radical conception of man's purpose and life in the universe, which is conscious recognition of his futility in terms of his previous life and environment.

The western analysis of the individual struggle after liberty which I have traced to the innate impulse or drive towards self-consciousness or *existenz*⁵ is incapable of any perfect orientation without the consciousness of the Divine, which appears as its dialectical opposite, but which it is not, when understood from the standpoint of bhakti analysed by the ālvārs, and it is refreshing to see that Kierkegaard's analysis of the consciousness of religion which passes through the fire of mystic struggle after self-being or *existenz* confirms the *anubhava* of the mystico-religious seers of India.

It is not the least interesting part of the philosophy of Kulaśekhara that he never craves for freedom, liberty as such, for to him the life in the Divine, as of the Divine, as belonging eternally to the divine has rendered the Dread, the *ghora*, almost non-existent, and his own *existenz* has been guaranteed a reality and excellence. It is thus that the Prapatti mārga gets rid of the mystical dark night of liberty through the religious consciousness of a conscious birth into the Divine life, by a jump or dialectic so exquisitely suggested by the two figures of the Veda, the *asambhūti* and *sambhūti*, which are instructed to be practised together there.

It is to the ālvār's then we turn to tell us the stages of the approach to the solution of the problem of liberty versus divine life.

Tirupati.

K. C. VARADACHARI.

4. *Philosophy*, Vol. XVI. No. 63, KIERKEGAARD'S *Philosophy of Existenz* by Dorothy M. EMMET.

5. Cf. *Living Teaching of Vedānta*: i. section on Advaitic Mysticism may be referred to where I have affirmed that the living teaching of Advaita is its insistence on selfhood distorted unfortunately by the three states.

VĀYU AND VR̥ṢĀKAPI

Every school-boy among the Hindus knows that Hanumān, the guardian deity at the entrance of every village in India is the son of Vāyu, and that Bhīma is also another son of the same god, Prāṇ-deva or god of life. Who is this Vāyu? Vāyu in the Vedas and also in later Sanskrit literature is said to be of seven kinds. *Sapta-gaṇāḥ Marutaḥ*, "seven are the bands of Vāyu," each band containing seven varieties of Vāyu. Strange though it may sound, I think that it is a fact that Vedic Vāyu is the moon: her or his phases are seven, in each quarter of a month. The four quarters or divisions of a month are the four troops. Seven moon or lunations are called a Gaṇa, regiment of four troops each. The moon is said to have wedded the 27 asterisms from Āśvinī to Revatī. He is Pāṇḍu, white. His sons are the five planets, as I have already pointed out. Rauhīṇeya is Mercury from Rohiṇī. Venus is from Maghā, Jupiter, Aryaman, is the son of P. Phalgunī, and Mars is from Purvashādhā, and Bhīma is either from P. Āshādhā or Svāti, whose deity is Vāyu. Varuṇa with his Pāsas or binding ropes is Saturn with his rings. It follows therefore that Hanumān or Bhīma is Mars or Vedic Agni, who has the power to grow in bulk to any extent and to shrink to nothing or to disappear. His smoky line is his tail that can be lengthened or shortened like his body. He is the eater of all animate and inanimate alike. As the eater of vegetable offerings he is a Brahmin; as raw flesh-eater he is Kravyāda, or Rākṣas. Sitā, as I have already pointed out, is the plough share. So, she is right in calling the ape a Rākṣasa, when questioned by the followers of Rāvaṇa, the moon, as to who Hanumān was. In fact he proved himself a Rākṣasa when he burnt Laṅkā and ate the Rākṣasas alive.

Kumbha-karṇa always in his dark-chamber is the rarely visible Mercury. He is Dīrghatamas in the Vedas. The word Karṇa means ear. In the Vedas he is known as Śravas or Śravastama. The two human Āśvins, Mercury and Venus, are the ears near the long eyes, the sun and the moon, of god above. As they are above the nose, they are called Nāsatyas, which is interpreted by Yaska to mean those who stand on the nose. Jupiter is the tongue or speech in the Vedas; he is called Indra-putra, sometimes. Mars is Agni in the body, in water or anywhere. He is another eye of Rudra. The five Pāṇḍavas are wandering beggars cycle after cycle of 13 years, a cycle with 33 or 25 eclipses on an average, and five intercalary months.

Their life in Lākṣāgrha or inflammable house is the same as the fiery pit of Trita or Attri. Their life in wilderness for 13 years and one year incognito seems to mean their life for 13 intercalary years in forest as contrasted with their life during the common lunar year or years. Their life incognito seems to mean their life during the 360 days which accrued over and above the intercalary period of 13×12 or 156 months on account of the difference of 130 days between the Vedic lunar month of 29.5 days and the real lunar month of 29.530 days, as determined by modern astronomers. Since 156 intercalary months happen in 390 years and since the 360 extra days occur in the course of 1000 years, it follows that there had elapsed 1390 years before the *Mahābhārata* relating the stories of the five planets personified as five Pāṇḍavas in war with the 100 sons of blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra, or 100 stars of the 27 constellations never moving from their territory like the five planets was composed.

I have already shown how the story of Draupadī's disgrace is hinted in R. V. X 33 and how the story of Daśaratha's revival by the help of Kaikeyī is hinted in the Mudgala hymn (R. V. X 102, Vide *Eclipse-cult*). Now I proceed to show that R. V. X 86 describing a dialogue between Indra, Śaci, and Vṛṣākapi corresponds to a conversation between Rāma, Sitā, and Hanumān after the war about Sitā's anxiety during the fire of Laṅkā.

In the hymn thighs (*Sakthins*) mean the asterism Maghā which is compared to the projecting poles of a Palankeen; Kapṛ meaning Daṇḍa, a stick, is the crescent

moon passing through the five thigh-like Magdha consisting of fire stars; and Romaśa or Bhaga is the Phalgunī asterisms. This region is called Sokavana or forest of grief on account of its being a region of occultation of planets like Jupiter, or Subandhu, as already pointed out. It is therefore euphemistically called Aśoka-vana, as Mars, Amaṅgala, inauspicious, is called Maṅgala, auspicious. The verses, translated in English, run as follows:—

"Here they have ceased to press Soma (Rāvaṇa). They count not Indra as god here; where my friend Vṛṣākapi has grown most fatty among the most fatty; Indra is the greatest of all.

"O Indra, thou art moving far away; there is trouble here on account of Vṛṣākapi; thou findest nowhere else Soma-drink due to you; Indra is the greatest of all." .. 2

(N.—This implies that Laṅkā-fire grew wild; Rāma is not respected in Rāvaṇa's place; Sītā is afraid that the ape, Mars, may kill Rāvaṇa, depriving Rāma of his victim.)

"What has this tawny beast done so as to cause anxiety to thee? Whatever thou wishest to be safe, whether a living being or rich wealth all that is intact. Indra is—" .. 3

(N.—Hanumān or Rāma says to Sītā that she need not be anxious, as the ape has left those that ought to be let alone. Compare verse 19).

"Soon a hound or a boar may bite Vṛṣākapi's ear; O Indra, that Vṛṣākapi whom thou hold dearest; Indra is—" .. 4

(N.—This is also Sītā's anxiety when the ape was setting fire to Laṅkā).

"(I am afraid) that he hath marred all beauteous things, all deftly wrought, causing joy even to me. I have power to rend his (enemy's) head to pieces: the sinner's portion shall ever be woe. Indra—" .. 5

(N.—Sītā is sorry for the destruction of Laṅkā. She could do that and kill even Rāvaṇa. But it is Rāma's work.)

"No dame hath ampler charms than I (Sītā) or greater wealth of loves delights: none with more ardour offers all her beauty to her lord's embrace. Indra is—" .. 6
(She is sure that Rāma will not neglect her.)

"O mother of great success, I know what is to happen; my breast, O mother, my head, and both my hips are all shivering with rage (against the enemy). (But I must forbear). Indra is—" .. 7

"O dame, thou with lovely hands and arms, with broad hair-plaits and ample hips, why, O thou, hero's wife, art anxious about Vṛṣākapi? Indra is—" .. 8

Because he looks upon me as one bereft of hero's love and protection, I, worthy to be the mother of heroes, the Marut's friend, and Indra's queen. Indra is—" .. 9

(She is afraid that Hanumān may kill Rāvaṇa, the Soma).

"From olden times the matron goes to feast and general sacrifice (with no fear). Mother of heroes, Indra's queen, the rite's ordainer, is extolled. Indra is—" .. 10

"So I have heard Indrāṇī called most fortunate among these dames, for never shall her consort die in future time through length of days. Indra is—" .. 11

(N.—Hanumān's assurance that Rāma is long-lived and that he will come to take her.)

"Never, Indrāṇī, have I joyed without my friend Vṛṣākapi, whose welcome offering made with pure water here goeth to the gods. Indra is—" .. 12

(N.—Note the implication that Hanumān, Agni, carries offerings to gods.)

"Vṛṣākapi says—(O dame,), be blessed with good sons and daughters-in-law; Indra will accept the offerings made by the bull (Vṛṣākapi), rich and efficient offerings; Indra is—" .. 13

"My offerings, bullocks fifteen in number together with twenty they prepare ; and I devour the fat thereof ; they fill my belly full with food ; Indra is—" .. 14

(N.—The ape says that Indra will not be deprived of his due portion, and that he, the ape, Agni, will have his good share ; The number of animals sacrificed are twenty and fifteen, that is, thirty-five corresponding to the 35 eclipses of the 13 years' cycle, which corresponds to the burning of Lankā of the Epic.).

"Like a bull with pointed horns he (the ape, Agni) bellows amidst the herds, Sweet to thine heart, O Indra, is the brew which the sacrificer offers to thee. Indra is—" .. 15

(N.—Compare the description of the nodes in 'Catvāri śṛgāḥ' and also the cow-raid described in Mudgala hymn.—Vide *Eclipse-cult.*).

"But in the region where between two thighs (plantain-tree-like asterisms meaning the five stars of Magha) a stick-like thing (moon of the new moon-day) swings Indra is not the lord ; he rules where he (Indra) sits with his hair unhurt. Indra is—" .. 16

(N.—Śaci says that Indra is not the lord of the place where sits the wife of Indra, the sun, is on the new moon day ; hence he cannot partake of the offerings.).

"He rules not merely where he sits with his hair unhurt or bristling, but also where between the thighs the stick-like thing swings. Indra is—" .. 17

(N.—This is the reply to Śaci's saying in the previous verse. The ape means that Indra, as the sun, is the ruler here also on the new moon day, when on the occasion of eclipse Indra and Asura, the eclipse-demon, fight for the possession of the sun-cow and when Indra cuts off the loins of the demon.).

"O Indra, this Vṛṣākapi hath found wild animals slain by himself, dresser, a new-made pan, and knife, and wagon with a load of food, with which thou thriveest. Indra is—" .. 18

(N.—This is Śaci's saying accepting the ape's opinion stated in the previous verse.)

"Distinguishing the Dāsa and the Ārpa, viewing all I go ; I look upon the wise, and drink the simple votary's Soma-juice. Indra is—" .. 19

(N.—The ape, Agni, speaks of his discretion and takes leave of Śaci to resume his journey back.)

"The desert plains and steep descents, how many leagues in length it spreads' ! Go through the nearest path, go unto thine home Vṛṣākapi. Indra is—" .. 20

(N.—Śaci bids good-bye to the ape about to go on his return journey.).

"Come back again, O Vṛṣākapi ; we twain (Indra and myself) will bring thee happiness ; thou hast proved the forebodings of my dream and goest homeward on thy way. Indra is—" .. 21

(N.—Śaci speaks of the dream she had prior to the arrival of the ape. She saw an ape in her dream as Sītā is said to have seen an ape in her dream the day before the ape came in the *Rāmāyana*).

"When, O Indra and Vṛṣākapi, ye went upward over the house, where was that noisome beast (Mṛga, moon), to whom did it go, the beast that troubles all. Indra is—" .. 22

(N.—Śaci refers to the statement made in verses 13 & 14 and asks the ape where the moon was when the 35 beasts were sacrificed for offerings to be made to Agni and Indra together.).

Parṣu, the daughter of Manu, bare a score of children in all. Her portion was verily bliss, although her bruthen caused her grief."

(N.—Here Manu stands for 14, 2×7 . It implies the cycle of 7000 days causing a Manvantara. Hence Manu's daughter means the moon which brings 71 or 72 Yuga or eclipses in 7000 days. Here the cycle referred to is a minor cycle of 13 years when only 20 lunar eclipses and 15 solar eclipses occurred, as stated in verses 13 & 14.).

In our conception of an eclipse there are involved only three factors, the sun, the moon, and the node. But to the ancients it implied many ideas. It conveyed to them the presence of the sun, the moon, the nodal fire, Mars, the presence of Indra, the rescuer, the assaulting demon, the danger to the chastity of the sun personified as a woman or a cow, the loss of her garment or of calves, the rays, loss of wealth, loss of Soma-juice, or of soma identified with Ghr̥ta, Gh̥i, loss of food, of wealth, and life, and birth of illegitimate children on account of Vṛtra's rape on Sāvitrī, the sun-woman. If the eclipse occurred on a new-moon day or full-moon day ending with sun-rise, it was called Kṛta-yuga and Ukthya, expressible. As the Vedic poets denoted a whole day by a syllable, which is expressible, as contrasted with $\frac{1}{4}$ th, $\frac{1}{2}$, and $\frac{3}{4}$ th syllables which are inexpressible and which denote fractions of a day; an eclipse occurring on a new-moon or full-moon day ending with a full day was called Ukthya or speech, Vāk. The purity of Vāk and Sāvitrī on the day of eclipse was liable to suspicion. Alluding to man's suspicion about the purity of Sītā, Bhavabhūti says in his *Uttara-Rāma-Carita* :—

“With regard to the purity of speech and woman, man is wicked and always suspicious : he points to her stay in the abode of ravishing Rākṣasa and disbelieves in her purity attested by fire.”

Man is egotist. He over-estimates his own purity and undervalues that of others. On this defective nature lies the pride of caste and creeds. The Vedic period was no exception to this.

Mysore.

R. SHAMASASTRY.

THE HARAHA INSCRIPTION AND THE EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA

By

JAGAN NATH, Lahore

In the *New Indian Antiquary* Vol. III, p. 137 Mr. Dhirañdra Nath MOOKERJEE has published a rejoinder to my criticism of his views regarding the determination of the epoch of the Gupta Era, in the light of information contained in the Haraha Inscription of Sūryavarman. I had contended that the Haraha Inscription does not contain any information that can upset the epoch of the Gupta Era as determined by FLEET and subsequently modified by Sir Ramakrishna Gopal BHANDARKAR. Mr. MOOKERJEE's contention in his first note which appeared in the *Indian Culture* Vol. IV p. 104 was that if we identify the Mālava Era with Vikrama Era as Dr. FLEET did, then Yaśodharman for whom we have the date 589 M.S. will become a contemporary of the Emperor Iśānavarman who was ruling in Vikrama S. 611 or even in 589. This, according to Mr. MOOKERJEE, is an impossibility, and the date of the Haraha inscription, therefore, indicates the incorrectness of FLEET's theory. In my note¹ I pointed out that Yaśodharman and Iśānavarman were not contemporaries, and there was no clash as supposed by Mr. MOOKERJEE. There was a sufficient interval between the two rulers. For Yaśodharman we have the date 532 A.D. while for Iśānavarman we have the date 554 A.D. Even if we concede that Yaśodharman continued to rule for ten years after the putting up of the Mandasor Inscription, it would mean that his reign ended in 542 A.D. while that of Iśānavarman began shortly before 554 A.D. The two were, therefore, predecessors and successors and not contemporaries. Mr. MOOKERJEE on the other hand, argues that Iśānavarman had become a Mahārājādhirāja at least about 590 v.s. Since at the time of the Haraha Inscription i.e. 611 v.s. his son Sūryavarman must have been 21 years old so Iśāna's reign began in $611-21 = 590$ v.s. Evidently Mr. MOOKERJEE means to say that Sūryavarman was born after Iśānavarman had assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāja. I, however, contended that there is nothing in the Haraha inscription to show that Sūryavarman had been born when Iśāna was ruling the earth as a Mahārājādhirāja. Mr. MOOKERJEE has tried to ridicule this statement by quoting (or rather misrepresenting) the following words from the text of the Haraha Inscription :

यस्मिन् शासति च क्षितिम् क्षितिपता.....श्रीसूर्यवर्माजनि ।

But a perusal of the verse in the original text will at once make it clear that either Mr. MOOKERJEE has not understood the text or has distorted it. The

1. Published in *IC*, Vol. V, p. 335 ff.

complete verse runs as follows :—

ज्याघातवणरूढिकर्कशभुजव्याकृष्टशार्ङ्गच्युतान्

यस्यावाप्य पतत्रिणो रणमुखे प्राणानमुञ्चन्दिषः ।

यस्मिन् शासति च क्षिति क्षितिपतौ जातेव भूयन्नयी ।

तेन ध्वस्तकलिप्रवृत्तिमरः श्रीसूर्यवर्माजनि ॥

Now, any Sanskritist can see that the locative absolute in *यस्मिन् शासति च क्षितिम्* has no connection whatsoever with the birth of Sūryyavarman, and is to be connected with the words *जातेव भूयन्नयी* meaning that when *Īśāna* was ruling, the Vedas were reborn as it were. The verb *अजनि* is to be connected with the subject *तेन*. The verse correctly translated simply states that, Sūryyavarman had been begotten by him (*तेन*) at the approach of whose arrows discharged from a bow drawn by the arm which was rough on account of the growth of the wound caused by the friction of the bowstring, the enemies gave up their lives, and while he was ruling the earth the Vedas were reborn as it were." *अजनि* is III Sg. Aorist (Passive). The Aorist 'simply expresses a past action indefinitely.'² Therefore this verse simply says that Sūryyavarman had been born sometimes in the past, and not necessarily during the rule of *Īśānavarman*. Further Mr. MOOKERJEE'S statement is based on the presumption that *Īśāna* was a *Mahārājādhirāja* from the very commencement of his reign. He asserts on the authority of late Mr. N. G. MAJUMDAR that the victories over the *Āndhras*, *Gauḍas* and *Śūlikas*, described in the *Haraha* and *Jaunpur* Inscriptions were won during the reign of *Īśvaravarman*. But this itself is fatal to Mr. MOOKERJEE'S theory, because we find that these victories did not bring about any change in the status of the *Maukharis*. *Īśvaravarman* remained a mere *Mahārāja* upto the time of his death. This is definitely proved by the *Asirgadh* and *Nalanda* seals of *Śarvavarman*³ and the *Nalanda* clay seal of *Avantivarman*⁴ where *Īśvaravarman* is styled as a *Mahārāja* and not a *Mahārājādhirāja*. It cannot be urged that since these victories were not achieved by *Īśvaravarman*, but by his son, the title of *Īśvaravarman*, remained unchanged. It is quite immaterial, whether the victories were won by the King, or by a *Senāpati*, or by a prince. The credit in all cases must go to the ruling monarch. It is, therefore, clear that *Īśvaravarman* never became a paramount sovereign during his lifetime, nor could his son assume that title before gaining fresh successes.

Mr. MOOKERJEE prefers the date 589 v.s. for the *Haraha* Inscription, taking *अतिरिक्तेषु* in the sense of 'superfluous', 'when 600 of autumns were

2. भूतसामान्ये लुङ् । The author of the *Haraha* inscription seems to be very fond of such passive constructions. In line 7 we have :—

तेनापीश्वरवर्म्माणः क्षितिपतेः क्षत्रप्रभावाप्तये

जन्माकारि कृतात्मनः क्रतुगणेष्वहृतवृत्रद्विषः ।

3. FLEET, CII, III, p. 219 and *E. I.* Vol. XXI, p. 75.

4. *E. I.* Vol. XXIV, p. 283 ff.

superfluous by eleven'. But there is no instance of such a use of the verb अति रिच् । We should not, therefore, take it as expressive of redundancy. The date must be taken as 611 and not as 589. Even if, for the sake of argument, we may concede that the inscription was put up in 589 v.s. and Īśānavarman's reign had started much earlier, it will not make him a contemporary of Yaśodharman as an emperor, for we have seen above that even the victories over the Āndhras, Gauḍas and Śūlikas, had not entitled the Maukharis to claim the status of Mahārājādhiśajas. That the Maukharis did not become an unrivalled imperial power in Northern India, upto a certain date in the reign of Īśānavarman himself, can be further proved with the aid of unimpeachable epigraphic evidence. In the Apsad inscription of Ādityasena we are told that Kumāragupta churned the formidable milk-ocean (in the form) of the army of Īśānavarman--the cause of the acquisition of royal fortune.⁵ It means that not only the Guptas in Magadha had not been reduced to the position of vassals, but to the contrary they were still powerful enough to inflict a severe defeat on the Maukhari armies led by Īśānavarman. Therefore, with the Guptas in Magadha unconquered, Īśāna could not have become the Mahārājādhirāja of the whole of Northern India. Unfortunately we do not possess any dates for the reign of Kumāragupta who defeated Īśānavarman, but if we may assign to him the fifth Damodarpur copper Plate dated 224 = 542 A.D.⁶ it would definitely prove that Īśānavarman did not become a Mahārājādhirāja up to 542 A.D. and therefore, as such he was not a contemporary of Yaśodharman. Even on the authority of our present sources of information this can be asserted definitely that for sometime even after his accession to the throne Īśāna did not become the imperial overlord of Northern India.

Mr. MOOKERJEE has adduced a new argument based on the dates 54 and 55 on the silver coins of Īśānavarman. He says, "These dates are evidently in the Śaka era with omitted hundreds ... The first date Śaka (4)54 is exactly the year (v.s. 589) of the Haraha Inscription." He has quoted Prof. RAPSON's authority that these dates belong to the Śaka Era. But, in spite of the great authority of Prof. RAPSON in the field of numismatics, I must say that he was wrong in referring these dates to the Śaka reckoning. The Śaka Era was never in general use in Northern India, much less in those territories which were ruled over by the Maukharis. The earliest instance of the use of the Śaka Era in the inscriptions of Northern India is supplied by the Baijnath inscription of the year 726 Śaka, from North Eastern Punjab. In the United Provinces the earliest known date is 784 in the Jain inscription from Deogarh, but even here it is not given as an independent date but only as an equivalent of the Vikrama date 919. Virtually there is no proof of the use of the Śaka era in N. India either before or during

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5. भीमः श्रीशानक्षितिपतिशशितः सैन्यदुग्धोदमिन्बु-
 ऋक्षमोसंग्रामिहेतुः सपदि विमथितो मन्दरी भूय येन ॥
6. R. N. DANDEKAR, *History of the Guptas*, p. 171.

the rule of the Maukharis. The Era used in these territories was the Vikrama Samvat, and this era has been employed in dating the Haraha Inscription—the only dated inscription of the Maukharis. The Haraha inscription is an official record. If the Maukharis had adopted the Śaka Era, as the official system of dating, we do not see any reason why there should have been a departure from the general practice, in the case of the Haraha inscription. It would be preposterous to suggest that the Maukharis employed the Śaka Era for dating their coins and the Vikrama Era for dating their inscriptions. The dates on the coins, evidently should be referred to a system of regnal years, commencing from the accession of Harivarman, the first ruler of the Maukhari dynasty.⁷

Mr. MOOKERJEE has next referred to some Chinese accounts—he does not mention the exact source—according to which an Indian Emperor Yuegnai of Kiapili sent an embassy to China in 428 A.D. He identifies Yuegnai with Yajñavarman Maukhari and Kiapili with Gaya, and questions that how could Kumāragupta I be ruling in 428 A.D. when we know on the authority of Chinese writers that Yajñavarman ruled over Magadha in 428 A.D. Apart from the philological difficulties⁸ involved in Mr. MOOKERJEE's identification the entire statement is erroneous. The name of the Indian King who sent the embassy in 428 A.D. was You-ai and not Yuegnai⁹. Yue-ai in Chinese means 'Moon-loved'. The name of the Indian monarch was, therefore, something like चन्द्रप्रिय and not यज्ञवर्मा. Again Ka-pi-li is the territory of Kapili valley in Assam. It has been identified with Davāka¹⁰ a kingdom mentioned in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta. Thus there is nothing in the Chinese accounts to contradict the fact that Kumāragupta I was ruling C. 428 A.D.

Mr. MOOKERJEE has taken very lightly the evidence of the Menalgadh inscription dated Mālava Samvat 1226, in which the date has been expressed thus :— मालवेशगत वत्सर... etc. Mr. MOOKERJEE very complacently remarks "Everyone knows that Vikramāditya was lord of Mālava (Ujjaini-pura-varādhīśvara) as well as of Magadha (Pāṭaliputra-varādhīśvara)"; and

7. In passing we may also note another error of Mr. MOOKERJEE in referring the date 52 on the coins of Toramāṇa as equal to Mālava Sam. 588, and still believing that Toramāṇa's son Mihirakula was defeated in M.S. 589 by Yaśodharman. It is evident that after his defeat, Mihirakula, could not have enjoyed the Imperial status. From the Gwalior inscription we know that he ruled for 15 years as a Mahārājādhirāja. That means, his rule started at least 15 years before 589 i.e. c. 574 M.S. Is it not absurd then, to suggest that Toramāṇa issued coins in 588 M.S.?

8. For a Sanskrit word ending in *Varman* the Chinese equivalent ought to end in fa-mo e.g. Skt. पूर्णवर्मन् = Chinese Pu-lan-fa-mo, and for Skt. पुरी we should get Pu-li in Chinese, not pi-li.

9. Cf. WATTER *JRAS.* 1889, p. 540. The mistake committed by Capt. WILFORD has been taken over by Mr. MOOKERJEE.

10. K. L. BARUA, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, p. 47 and R. M. NATH, *IC*, VI, p. 460.

concludes that Malaveśa here is synonymous with Vikramāditya. But Mr. MOOKERJEE forgets that his Vikramāditya i.e. Candragupta I was not the lord of Mālava. The Śakas ruled in Mālava till their overthrow by Candragupta II. Moreover Mālaveśa occurs in a compound form, and is not necessarily to be taken in the singular number, but may be taken in the plural—मालवेशानां संवत्सरः = मालवेशसंवत्सरः. The Mālava Era has actually been mentioned in this way in the Kapaśva inscription of Śivagaṇa : संवत्सरशतैर्यत्तैः सहपञ्चनवत्यर्गैः । सप्तभिर्म्मालवेशानां मन्दिरं धूर्जटेः कृतम् ॥ Here मालवेशानाम् is evidently equal to मालवानाम् of the various Mandasor inscriptions and stands for the Mālava tribe, after whom the reckoning was known. That the Mālavas established this era and not merely handed it down is clear from the Mandasor inscription discovered by Shri M. B. GARDE.¹¹

Mr. MOOKERJEE's statement concerning Kumāragupta II is most ridiculous. He says, "We know that in Mālava year 524 Govindagupta son of Candragupta II was governor of Vaiśālī (not to speak of Mālava year 529 when his brother Kumāragupta I was ruling). Thus Mr. Jagan NATH cannot but admit that the interval between the known dates of Govindagupta and his great grandson Kumāragupta is one of six years only (or one year only between Kumāragupta I and his great-grandson)". Here Mr. MOOKERJEE is lost in a labyrinth of his own making; and all the above statements are based on ignorance and misunderstanding. The sole evidence for Govindagupta's connection with Vaiśālī is the clay seal of his mother Mahādevī Dhruvasvāminī, discovered by Dr. BLOCH from Basrah. In the seal Govindagupta is described not as a Mahārājādhirāja but simply as Mahārāja—a title given to princes, provincial governors and feudatory rulers. Mahādevī Dhruvasvāminī, the owner of the seal, is described as the wife of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Candragupta. Presumably, therefore, the seal belongs to the reign of Candragupta II, and Govinda was at Vaiśālī sometimes between 61-93 Gupta era or 436 and 468 Mālava years. As regards the date 524 M.S. it has been obtained from the new inscription from Mandasor. That inscription does not say that Govindagupta was ruling at Vaiśālī in the year 524 but on the other hand refers to him as a ruler who had died long ago.¹²

11. Cf. the words शरभिज्ञानाथकरामलायाः विक्वयापके मालववंशकीर्तेः । The inscription is being edited in E. I. by Shri GARDEJI himself and will appear shortly.

12. I would request Mr. MOOKERJEE to wait for the publication of the text of the inscription which is being edited by Mr. GARDE and will shortly appear in the pages of the E. I. Here I may quote only these verses :—

गोविन्दवत्ख्यातगुणप्रभावं गोविन्दगुप्तोर्जितनामधेयं ।
वसुन्धरेशस्तनयं प्रजज्ञे स दित्यादित्यास्तनयैस्सरूपम् ॥
यस्मिन्मृपैरस्तमित प्रतापैर्दिशरोभिरालिङ्गितपादपदैः ।
विचारदोले विबुधाधिबोऽपि शङ्कापरीतः समुपाकरोत् ॥
सेनापतिस्तस्य बभूव नाम्ना बाह्यादिना रक्षितपश्चिमेन ।
यस्यारिसेनास्समुपेत्य सेनां न कस्यचिच्छोचनमार्गभीयुः ॥

Thus Mr. MOOKERJEE's conception of Govindagupta's rule in Vaisāli in M.S. 524 is the creation of his own imagination, and the interval between him and his great grandson is not so ridiculously small as he wants to prove. Still more deplorable is the statement that Kumāragupta I was ruling in M.S. 529. Kumāragupta I was ruling when the temple was built in 493 M.S. Then we are told that after the lapse of considerable time, when other Kings had come and gone, the temple was damaged and in the year 529 M.S. it was repaired.²⁸ This statement should have no doubt in our mind that Kumāragupta I had died long before 529 M.S. when the inscription was put up.

Mr. MOOKERJEE has made yet another important discovery. He says, "Kumāragupta I's son was Budhagupta wrongly read as Puragupta", and in support of this he refers to a note of Mr. S. K. SARASWATI.¹⁴ The correction of the legend on the Hoe specimen of Purugupta's coin proposed by Mr. SARASWATI is hardly acceptable. Simply because the upper letter seems to have horizontal top stroke it can't be regarded as a *b* instead of *p*, for we must remember that there are numerous instances in the records of the Imperial Guptas where the top stroke of *p* has been made inordinately long e.g. compare the *p* in Kausthalapuraka in line 20, and प्रसभोद्धरण in line 21 of the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta and in विप्र and पित्रोः in lines 2 and 6 of the Eran inscription of Toramāṇa. When the letter is not quite distinct as in the present case, we can easily confuse it with *b*. If we closely examine the left hand vertical line of the upper letter on the coin we shall find that it is very thick at the top. In other words there is a top mark above. This would never happen in a *b* of this period which has not developed a top mark as yet. Therefore the letter has been correctly read as *p* and the proposed correction is unwarranted. Coming to the lower letter, it is surprising how any one could ever mistake it for a *dh*. Firstly this letter has a top mark, while *dh* in Gupta inscriptions never gets a top mark. The earliest example of *dh* with a top mark occurs in the Maitraka grants of the sixth century A.D. The lower letter on the coin is clearly a vertical line with a top mark, with no traces of a curve on its right. What Mr. SARASWATI takes for the curve of *dh* or *ṣ* is in reality the curve of a letter in the marginal legend, and has nothing to do with this vertical line. The lower letter is, therefore, clearly a *r* and with no stretch of imagination can we make it either *dh* or *ṣ*. The name on the coin was correctly deciphered by ALLAN, and in an attempt to find gold coins of Budhagupta, we should not draw upon imagination. Even without going into the merits of Mr. SARASWATI's suggestion we can confidently say that the name of Kumāragupta's son in the Bhitari seal is not Budhagupta. It is Puru (not Pura), as may clearly be seen on the

13. बहुना समतीतेन कालेनान्यैश्च पार्थिवैः । व्यशीर्य्यतैकदेशोऽस्य भवनस्य ततोऽधुना ॥

" स्वयशोवृद्धये सर्वमत्युदारमुदारया । संस्कारितमिदं भूयः श्रेण्या भानुमतो गृहम् ॥

14. A gold coin of Budhagupta, I. C., Vol. I, pp. 691-2.

Nalanda Seals.¹⁵ That Bhudagupta is not a son of Kumāragupta I but a later descendant, is evident from Budhagupta's own sealing now published by Dr. HIRANAND.¹⁶ It is futile to attempt to establish that Hiuen Tsang's Śakrāditya is Kumāragupta I and he must have been followed by Budhagupta. According to Hiuen Tsang Śakrāditya ruled not long after the death of Buddha. Should we then place Kumāragupta I sometimes in the 4th century B.C. and Candragupta I earlier still?

In the closing portion of his rejoinder Mr. MOOKERJEE remarks, "the tale told by Yuan Chwang is not in the least pseudo-historical as supposed by Mr. Jagan NATH and his authority the late Vincent SMITH". Mr. MOOKERJEE again betrays his ignorance. Dr. V. A. SMITH never rejected the account of Hiuen Tsang as untrue. Rather, he has attempted to reconcile the discrepancy between the pilgrim's account and the epigraphic evidence by suggesting the formation of a confederacy between Yaśodharman and Bālāditya. On the other hand I have followed the views held by HOERNLE, J. J. MODI, and John ALLAN ; and rejected Hiuen Tsang's version as untrue.

15. See my article in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Lahore*, p. 58.

16. *Nalanda And Its Epigraphic Material*, Mem. Arch. Sur. No. 66, p. 64.

NANDIVARMAN II AND THE SIEGE OF NANDIPURAM

By

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, Chidambaram.

The reign of Nandivarman II Pallava Malla occupies a unique position in the history of the Pallavas. There was a break in the succession of the royal line of Simhavishnu when Paramesvaravarman II passed away suddenly and issueless. The events describing the chaos that prevailed in the land, the way in which the ministers, the body of learned men and other subjects chose a successor to the deceased king, his coronation, and other main events in the history of Nandivarman II are depicted in sculptures together with illustrative label-inscriptions on the inner southern wall of enclosure of the Vaikunṭha-perumal Koil at Kāñcīpuram. It was a temple built by him and its ancient name was Paramēśvara Viṣṇugrahaṁ* (Viṇṇaharam in Tamil)—after his pre-abhisheka name of Paramēśvaran alias Pallavamalla.

The selection of Nandivarman as king, and his coronation are described in great detail and vividness in the label-inscriptions referred to above. After Paramēśvaravarman II had attained *Svarga* (svargasttarāvadu), the *Māttirās*, the *Ghaṭikaiyars*, and *Mūlaprakṛitis* decided to wait on a deputation on Hiraṇyavarma Mahārāja—the leading member of the junior collateral branch of the Pallava family, and to make a request of him to give them a king from the royal line who was pure in descent both on his father's and mother's side.

When these waited on Hiraṇyavarman, he asked them why they came there. They replied that the kingdom had fallen into a state of anarchy (utsannamāyadu), and it could not endure, and therefore they wanted as king one who was pure in descent on both sides.

On hearing this, Hiraṇyavarman called his kinsmen (Kulamallar) and when asked, they refused the honour. Thereupon he called his four sons Śrī Mallan, Raṇamallan, Samkrāmamallan and Pallavamallan and enquired if any of them would accept the throne. While ordinarily every one would be eager to get this opportunity and compete for the throne, the three elderly sons were anxious to escape this responsibility and said that they would not accept the throne. Then came the youngest of them, who said, "I will." On hearing this, Hiraṇyavarman suffered from mingled feelings—like the mixing of Ambrosia and poison (amrutamum—nañji—kalandanna)—joy that his good and truth-loving son was going to enjoy Sovereignty and bring credit to the Kāṇḍava House—and sorrow at the parting of his son of tender age—barely twelve years old—and he soon decided that he could not spare his child for the throne.*

* The late Dr. C. MINAKSHI has brought out the importance of the sculptures and the label-inscriptions in a Memoir No. 63—Vaikunṭha-perumal Temple, Kāñchi.

Then the old and learned counsellor Taraṇḍikonda Pōṣar addressed Hiraṇyavarman, thus : " This child has paid his devotion to Vishnu. He is sure to become a Chakravartin. Cast away your sorrow and doubts." Thus consoled, Hiraṇyavarman gave his son permission to go. The boy, now the king-elect, crossed many hills, rivers, forests and plains (?) and went in the direction of the capital. On hearing this Pallava Araiyar came accompanied by his great army (Mahābalaṃ) to welcome him and took him, mounted on an elephant, to the great city of Kāñci. The *Mahāsāmantā*, *Nagarattārs* (the merchant-guilds) and the *Mūlaprakritis* and Kāḍakka M-ttraiyar accorded a fitting reception to the king-elect and took him to the palace (Koyil).

Then took place the *abhishekam* i.e., the coronation and the ceremony of investiture. He was presented with the drum called *Samudragesham*, the dhvaja of *Khadavanga*, the lanchana of the Bull and the sign-manual of *Viḍēl Viḍugu*. After these glorious celebrations, he, who had now become *Perumāṇaḍigal*, ruled the kingdom.

About this king the *Pattattāḷmaṅgalam* grant mentions that he ruled his kingdom *even while young* (ādatta prathitabali-yvaiva-rājyam) while the Kāśākkuḍi plates say, " At present his prosperous kingdom, in which enemies are subdued by the power of (mere) commands, is ruled as far as the ocean by Nandivarman, *who was chosen by the subjects* (*vrula prajābhiḥ*).

He ruled for 65 years, and these years were full of unparalleled troubles both external and internal, and he overcame all of them and remained an *Ekaḍhira*—a peerless hero ! Four copper plate deeds of his reign have come to light. The Udayēndiram plates of his 21st year, the Kāśākkuḍi plates of his 22nd year, the Tanḍānthōṭṭam plates of his 58th year and the *Pattattāḷmaṅgalam* plates of his 61st year. Of these the Udayēndiram plates describe the services rendered by his general Udayachandra who, says the grant, " was born in the race of Pūchan which had been handed down by (i.e., had been in the hereditary service of) the uninterrupted succession of the Pallava race ; who, when he perceived that Pallavamalla was besieged in *Nandipura* by the Dramila princes, unable to bear this, like the visible death of the crowd

A few renderings on p. 34 are wrong and are here rendered correctly. They are :

Page 34. para. 3 :—' Each of the first three in turn refused to go saying " you had better go as a king ; we will not." There is no warrant for this in the original.

Para 4 :—' And with his heart filled as if with *ambrosia* and *fire* at the same time (amrtamannereri kalanda hridayasthanāki) he refused to send his son, a boy who was only twelve years old.' This rendering is based on the old reading of the inscription given in S.I.IV, but the text of this inscription has been revised by the late Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar and is published on pp. 54-55 of the Memoir. ' Ambrosia and fire '. This makes no sense. The mixing of Ambrosia and poison *Amrita* and *Nanji* is a better rendering—and in my opinion a correct one.

For literary support of this comparison of the mixing of nectar and poison see the *Ramayana*—Sundarakhaṇḍa 37 Sarga-Sloka 2nd—" *Amrtam Visha Sam Sruṣṭam tvayā Vānara bhashitam* ".

See also the Tamil Epic *Jivakachintamani*—stanza 250—" *Amirtunnaṇḍumādalan*."

of the enemies of Pallavamalla, slew with (his) sharp sword, which glittered like the petal of a water-lily, the Pallava king *Chitramāya* and others" (S. I. I. II, p. III, page 372).

Chitramāya seems to have been a pretender to the Pallava throne and he had gained the support of the Tamil kings, chiefly the Pandya ruler. In this struggle for the throne Nandivarman was forced to flee for safety to Nandipura where he was besieged by Chitramāya and his allies. It was at this critical hour that the loyal general of Nandivarman struck the pretender down, vanquished his foes and rescued his master.

Which is Nandipura where Nandivarman was besieged and from which he was rescued by his general?

Regarding its identification, Mr. GOPALAN (in his *History of the Pallavas of Kāñchi*—p. 124) says "One of the most important of the achievements of Udayachandra whose exploits are enumerated in the Udaiyēndiram plates was the release of Nandivarman II from the *fortified town* of Nandipura which was besieged by his enemies, the Tamil kings. Nandipura, which is identical with Nandipuraviṇṇagaram of Tirumaṅgai Ālvār, is situated not far from the modern town of Kumbhakonam and is now-a-days known as Nāthan-Kōvil. During the later Pallava age, especially in the eighth century, this place appears to have served as the seat of Pallava power in the southern districts, and was presumably fortified. It is noteworthy that the hymns to this shrine of Tirumaṅgai Ālvār who was a contemporary of Pallavamalla, have a *clear reference* to Nandivarman."

So GOPALAN identifies *Nandipura* with *Nāthan Koil* which the Vaishnavite hymnist Tirumaṅgai Ālvār calls by the name of *Nandipuraviṇṇagaram* and he further quotes a stanza from the Ālvār's hymns about this place to prove that there is a *clear reference to Nandivarman*. In this connection he relies on the line—"Nandi-pani-śeyda-nagar—Nandi-pura-ṇṇagaram."

I am not so clear about the evidence warranting Mr. GOPALAN'S cocksureness about the reference to Nandivarman the king in the line above referred to. Because the term '*pani-śeyda*' may mean either a city enriched with the sacred works by Nandi, the king or a city in which *Nandi* (the deva) worshipped the Lord and had his salvation. For according to local legends the place is called Nandipuraviṇṇagaram because *Nandideva* was granted salvation by the Lord who exhibited Himself in this place in answer to Nandideva's work of devotion.

On the other hand, there is clear epigraphical evidence that *Nandipuram* was an alternate name to Ayirattai of which Palaiyāru formed a part—a place also near Kumbakonam and Nāthan Kōvil—but has greater historical associations as a secondary capital of the Cholas in later times. An inscription of a certain Parakēsarivarman in his 8th year (who may perhaps be *Uttama Chola*) from Tiruppaḷanam mentions a gift of 90 sheep for lamp by one Tiruvāli Ayiravan who was a native of *Nandipuram* alias *Ayirattai*. (145 of 1927-28).

In two inscriptions of Parantaka, Āyirattāḷi is said to be in Kīḷar Kurram, a subdivision of Ten-karai-nadu (Kumbakonam 249 of 1911—; Tiruppaḷanam 164 of 1927-28—30th year). A commentary of a tamil grammar, *Vīra Ṣoḷiyam* calls Sundara chola King of Nandipura. A standard measure of Nandipuram is referred to in inscriptions of Sundara Chola (365 of 1924) and Rājārāja I (367 of 1924). In the smaller Leyden grant of the 20th year of Kulottunga I, the grant is said to have been issued 'while he was pleased to rest on the reclining couch (paḷḷippidam) called Kāliṅgarayan in the bathing hall within the palace at Āyirattāḷi alias Āhavamallapura:'. The latter title *Āhavamalla kulahaḷa*, is a title of Vīrarajendra. In a later inscription of his reign (32 year—Śrīmushnam—233 of 1916) Āyirattāḷi is said to have the alternate name of Minavan-men-kaṇḍa-Ṣoḷapuram which in an inscription of Vikrama Chola (14 year 194 of 1931) takes the variant form Ven Kaṇḍa-Ṣoḷapuram.

Inscriptions of Rajaraja II and Rajadhiraja II also refer to the palace at Āyirattāḷi (163 of 1906, and 433 of 1924).

The triumphal celebration of Kulōttunga III after the third conquest of Madura ended in the retaliation by the Pāṇḍyas under the illustrious Māra-varman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, the founder of the second Empire of the Pāṇḍyas (acc. 1216 A.D.). This Pandya ruler is said to have performed with resplendent grandeur the anointment as hero (Vīrā-abisheka) in the anointing hall of the Chola-Valavan at *Āyirattāḷi* whose glory is hard to be extolled by poets and whose golden walls of enclosure reached even as far as the sun in the sky (parutivāṇṟōyum—Āṭakap-puriṣai—Āyirattāḷi), and as a consequence thereof he took the title of "Śrī-Ṣōṇāḍu-koṇḍu—Muḍi-koṇḍa Ṣoḷapurattu virar-abhishekam-panṇi-aṟuḷiya"—i.e., the King who took Ṣōṇāḍu and who was pleased to perform Virabisheka at Muḍi-koṇḍa Ṣoḷapuram. From this *prasasti* of Māra-varman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, it is clear that Āyirattāḷi was a capital of the Cholas, that it was well fortified, and it had the alternative name of Muḍi-koṇḍa Ṣoḷapuram. Two other inscriptions (72 of 1924 and 9 of 1926) make us infer that Paḷaiyāru—a place also near Kumbakonam, which was the royal residence of Chola kings—formed part of Muḍi-koṇḍa-Ṣoḷapuram.* In an inscription of Rajendra I (7 year 271 of 1927) Paḷaiyāru gets this alternate name of Muḍi-koṇḍa-Ṣoḷapuram.

* 72 of 1924. Tirupattur—Ramnad dist.

(15 + 1) = 16 year of 'Sundara Pandya deva who was pleased to present the Chola country.' Mentions "Maravarman alias Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga Chola deva who having been pleased to take the two Koṅḡus, Iḷam, and Karuvur, was pleased to perform the anointment of victors at Paḷavaṟṟur" (Paḷavaṟṟur is the original form of Paḷaiyāru).

9 of 1926—Iraniyur—Ramnad dist. 15 year of Maravarman Sundara Pandya deva "who took the two Koṅḡus, Iḷam (Ceylon), Karuvur, the crown and the crowned head of the chola, and having performed the anointment of heroes and of victors in the maṇḍapa at Paḷaiyāru in Muḍi-koṇḍa Ṣoḷapuram, was pleased to give back the crown and Muḍi-koṇḍa Ṣoḷapuram "to Kulottunga chola Deva."

The foregoing set of facts point out that Āyirattali was a well fortified Chola capital, that it had an alternate name of Muḍikonḍa-Śōlapuram, that it flourished at least till the 13th century A.D. and that Palaiyāru formed part of Āyirattali. Therefore the *Nandipuram* which is otherwise known as *Āyirattali* according to the Tiruppaḷanam inscription (145 of 1927-28) should be the place called Nandipuram where Nandivarman was besieged by Chitramāya and the Dramila Kings according to the Udayēndiram plates. If these facts are established, we have in the Udayēndiram plates the earliest reference to this place as a *fortified secondary capital of the Pallavas* and it was this place already distinguished that played a glorious part in the days of Chola ascendancy.

There is another 'Āyirattali'—a quarter of Niyamam (modern Nemam, Tanjore district) referred to in inscriptions of Rājarāja I. (S.I.I. Vol. II, pp. 281, 284, 287, 290, 294 & 296). I wonder whether this was a fortified place.

THE KṚTA ERA*

By

DHIRENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE.

From epigraphic evidence we know of an era called Kṛta. The precise interpretation of this term was for a long time shrouded in mystery. Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR in his 'Epigraphic Notes and Questions, XXI. The years called Kṛta...' (*Ind. Ant.* 1932, pp. 101-103) has put forth the suggestion that the Kṛta Era is identical with the Kṛta or Satya Yuga introduced by Kalki as stated in the Purāṇas. He also showed from the late Jayaswal that according to some Purāṇas Kalki has come and gone. 'This shows that the Kali Age has also passed away, giving rise to the Kṛta which is therefore now going on'. Dr. BHANDARKAR could not continue his studies on this most interesting topic. Evidence of an overwhelming nature has now been found to show the correctness of his view. In the *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 47, verses 255 and 262, it is stated 'Tataḥ kāle vyatīte tu sa devo-ntaradhīyata' (then after sometime that King Kalki departed) also 'kṣīṇe Kaliyuge tamins-tataḥ Kṛtam-avartata' (Kali yuga having ended, the Kṛta was then ushered in) as already shown by JAYASWAL and Dr. BHANDARKAR. In the *Kalki Purāṇa* (Part III Ch. 19) also, it is distinctly stated that after the introduction of the Kṛta yuga Kali departed from this world. On hearing of his departure king Viśākhayūpa also installed his son on the throne and left for the forest. It is stated in the *Kalki Purāṇa* that Kalki defeated the Buddhists, the Jains and the Mlecchas with the help of king Viśākhayūpa and then introduced the Kṛta, at the end of the Kali Yuga. In the *Jyotiṛ-vidābharaṇa* by Kālidasa (ch. 10, verses 110 and 112) we find the names of the six epoch makers among whom Bali is mentioned as one. The verse has a variant reading which runs thus : 'Yudhiṣṭhirād Vikrama Śalivāhanau tato nṛpaḥ syād vijayābhinandana tatastu Nāgārjuna bhūpatiḥ Kalau Valkiḥ śaḍete Śaka-kārakā nṛpaḥ.' Here Valki occurs in place of 'Bali'. 'Valki' is evidently incorrect, the correct form being Kalki. The verse 112 runs thus : 'Nāgārjuna Rohitake kṣītau Balir bhaviṣyat-indro Bhṛgukacchapattane Kṛta-pravṛt-tiṣ-tad-anamtaram bhavet tadā bhaviṣyatyavanibhūtor-kataḥ(?)' After 'Bali or Valki (Kalki)' the Kṛta Yuga was then ushered in. Even with the reading 'Bali' we get an interesting confirmation from the commentary of Bhāvaratna on the above verses : 'Anuktāni api atra granthāntarād eṣām vamaṇamāniāha-Rājādhirājaḥ kila Kalkir-ātmabhūstāt-sthāpito rāṭ Balir atra dikṣakaḥ'. We are here told that Kalki was rājādhirāja and that when he passed away he established his son Bali on

* A brief summary of a paper read before the 'Second Indian History Congress' held at Allahabad in 1938.

the throne. Thus from the above it will clearly be seen that the interpretation of 'Kṛta' as found in several inscriptions is the well known Kṛta or Satya Yuga introduced by Kalki. In the *Skanda Purāṇa*—Māheśvara Khaṇḍa Kumārikā khaṇḍa—verses 248 to 276, are given some details of the different epochs including that of the Kṛta Yuga introduced by Kalki. There it is stated that the very first Kṛta Yuga was different from the others introduced later 'ādyam Kṛta-Yugacānyad-tadanyebhyo viśiṣyate' (274)—

While editing the 'Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Yūpas : Kṛta year 295' in the *Ep. Indica*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42-52. Prof. A. S. ALTEKAR of the Benares Hindu University while quoting Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR's opinion that the time has not yet come for suggesting a definite interpretation of the term 'Kṛta', puts forth, however, a tentative theory and suggests that 'the era may originally have been started by a king named Kṛita who probably scored a memorable victory and won great booty (Kṛita)'. In view of the overwhelming nature of evidence already stated it is clear that Kṛta was Kṛta because it was the Kṛtayuga started by king Kalki. It is again strange that Kṛta should be taken as the name of a king, because in all inscriptions Kṛta is in apposition to 'Vatsara or Varṣa' which means 'a year'. Now when we have such an expression as 'Kṛteṣu caturṣu varṣaśateṣu etc.' in the Nagari inscription of year 481 how can Kṛta mean here a king called 'Kṛta'? What is meant by '481 years' which are Kṛta Kings as this expression has to be so translated if Prof. ALTEKAR's theory is upheld? Prof. ALTEKAR cites the Sunak plate of Kaṇadeva and the Bhadresvar plate of Chālukya Jayasimhadeva dated in year 1148 and 1195 where the expression 'Vikramasamvat' occurs and also shows that 'Valabhisamvat' occurs in some places. But these can very well be compound words. If Prof. ALTEKAR could have cited an example like 'Vaikrama Samvatsara', then his case might have been stronger. Kṛta must, therefore, be taken in the sense of 'the years of Kṛtayuga' ushered in by Kalki.

Now, a few words regarding the epoch of the era. From the *Kalki Purāṇa* we learn that the Kṛta era was started during the reign of king Viśākhayūpa. In the *Purāṇas* we have the name of only one king Viśākhayūpa, son of Pālaka of Avanti or Mālava of the Pradyota dynasty. The tradition among the Jains is persistent that Pālaka, the Lord of Avanti was anointed in the very night in which the Arhat Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra attained Nirvāṇa which occurred in 528 B.C., according to Jaina tradition. From the *Purāṇas* we know that Pālaka reigned for 24 years (28 years—Matsya) i.e., from 528 to 504 (or 500 B.C., Matsya) B.C. who was followed by his son Viśākha Yūpa who reigned for 50 years (53 years—Matsya) i.e. from 504 to 454 B.C. (500 to 447 B.C., according to the Matsya *Purāṇa*). Thus Kalki with the help of king Viśākha Yūpa re-introduced the Kṛta era sometime between 504 and 447 B.C. The reason why this Kṛta era was also known as the era traditionally handed down by the Mālava tribe '(Mālava-gaṇa-āmnāte) or according to the settled usage among the Mālava tribe' or the

era counted from the establishment of the tribal Republic in Mālava ('Mālava-Gaṇa-sṭhiti-vaśāt) seems to be that king Viśākhayūpa of Avanti or Mālava' re-introduced this Kṛta era after granting the republican form of government in Mālava (the golden age) during his reign (504 to 447 B.C.). This supports my theory already put forth in a separate paper on the epoch of the Kṛta era being identical with the epoch of the Śree Harṣa era mentioned by Alberuni i.e., 458 B.C.

From the traditions quoted above we see that the Kṛta or Mālava era by Kalki and the Vikrama era introduced by Vikramāditya are quite distinct and separate and the identity of the two assumed to support Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era (A.D. 19-20) is incorrect. This will be evident from the following : Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana defeated Mihirakula about Mālava-gaṇa year 589 = A.D. 532 on Dr. FLEET's epoch. But a history of the patriarchs down to Simha, the 23rd of the Northern Buddhists, whom Mihirakula beheaded, was translated into Chinese in A.D. 172. The names of Vasubandhu, the 21st patriarch, and Mihirakula occur in this work, thus showing clearly that these must have flourished before A.D. 472. Thus the epoch of the Mālava-gaṇa era must be more than (532-472 or) 60 years prior to 58 B.C. Again, Kumārajīva (A.D. 383-412 in China) wrote a Life of Vasubandhu, not now extant, and read his *Śata sāstra* before A.D. 380. Hence Vasubandhu's death cannot be placed later than A.D. 360 and his contemporary Narasimhagupta Bālāditya and the latter's contemporary Mihirakula must have flourished before A.D. 360 (= Gupta Sam. 40 according to Dr. FLEET). This shows that the epoch of the Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa era must be at least (532-360, or) 172 years earlier than 58 B.C. i.e., the epoch of the same cannot be later than (172 + 58, or) 230 B.C. and consequently also the epoch of the Gupta Vikramāditya era cannot be later than (319-172 or) 147 A.D., from this evidence alone.

It should be remembered, however, that the epoch of the era of the Lord of Mālava (Mālaveśa) i.e., Vikramāditya Lord of Ujjainī (Ujjayinī-puravarādhīśvara) in Mālava, is quite distinct from the era of the 'Mālava-gaṇa'.

From another source the correctness of the above epoch (458 B.C. for the Kṛta era) will follow. According to universal Indian tradition the Kali Yuga began from 3102 B.C. But from the duration of the four Yugas (a Mahā-yuga) as found in Hindu astronomical treatises and the Purāṇas it does not follow that a Kṛta or Satya yuga began about 458 B.C. However, John BENTLEY in his 'On the Hindu Systems of Astronomy' (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VIII, 1808, pp. 223-244) showed from an unknown work 'Graha Manjari' that a shorter cycle of the four Yugas (Mahāyuga) comprising 2,400 years was also in use among the early Hindus in addition to the bigger cycles of Yugas. Dividing, similar to a Mahāyuga of the bigger cycle, a Kali of the shorter cycle comprises 240 years. Thus from the beginning of a Kali to the end of another Kali or the beginning of Kṛta (Satya), we have (2400+240, or) 2,640 years. We know that in ancient times the year con-

sisted of 366 days. Therefore, 2,640 years of 366 days are equivalent to 2,645 years and some days more. Thus a Kali Yuga beginning in 3,102 B.C. the next Kali ended in (3,102-2,645, or) 457 B.C. when a new Kṛta began. This proves clearly that the Epoch of the Kṛta era is practically identical with the epoch of the Sree Harṣa era, i.e. 458-457 B.C.

According to Jaina tradition Mahāvīra attained Nirvāṇa, three years and some months before the close of the fourth age called Duṣṣama Susama in the great period called Avasarpiṇī. As Mahāvīra attained Nirvāṇa in 528 B.C., the Duṣṣama Susama period ended in 525 B.C. from which date the Duṣṣama age began. From Guṇabhadra's Uttarapurāṇa as quoted by Dr. SHAMASASTRI ('The Age of the Early Guptas', An Rep. of the Mysore Arch. Dep. for 1923) we know that when one thousand years of the Duṣṣama age had elapsed there was born a Kalki in Pāṭaliputra in a Mahā Māgha year. Now a thousand years from 525 B.C. leads us to A.D. 475. The previous year A.D. 474 was a Mahā Māgha year according to the twelve years' cycle of Jupiter. Past and future incarnations of Kalki, the oppressor of the Mlecchas, the Jainas and the Buddhists at intervals of about 1000 years from Mahāvīra is persistent among the Jains who even calculated a Kalki era from the Kalki born in A.D. 474. Now a Kalki having been born in A.D. 474, the previous Kalki was born according to Jaina tradition one thousand years earlier in (1000-473, or) 527 B.C. i.e. immediately after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa. As Kalki lived up to 70 to 72 years according to Jaina tradition, i.e. up to (527-70 or 72) 457 or 455 B.C. evidently he introduced the Kṛta era about 458 B.C. and then departed from this world. Thus Jaina tradition also supports the epoch of the Kṛta era introduced by Kalki to be about 458 B.C.

From independent sources let us see when the Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa era was established. K. P. JAYASWAL in his *Hindu Polity* has definitely established that the Mālavas had a republican form of government. The Mālava-gaṇa (Republic of the Mālavas) is not mentioned by Pāṇini (c. 600 B.C.). Nor is it found mentioned in the literature of Buddha's time (500 B.C.), though other gaṇas are found mentioned. Kātyāyana (c. 340 B.C.), the priest of the last Nanda, in his Vārtika of Pāṇini mentions the Mālava-gaṇa. The Greek writers of c. 325 B.C. mention the defeat of the Mālavas at the hands of Alexander's army. Hence in Cāṇakya's Artha-śāstra (c. 315 B.C.) no mention of the Republic in Mālava is to be found. The Mālavas again asserted their independence and we find their Republic (gaṇa) mentioned by Patanjali, the priest of Puṣyamitra (c. 180 B.C.), in his *Mahābhāṣya* of Pāṇini. These Mālavas were finally defeated by Samudragupta (c. 50 B.C.). The Greek writers tell us that the Mālava Republic was established long before 325 B.C. Hence it was established sometime between 400 and 500 B.C. (after Buddha's death), say about 450 B.C. This was considered by the Mālavas as the ushering in of the Kṛta or the Golden Age.

As the Epoch of the Gupta Vikramāditya era is about 400 years later than the epoch of the Kṛta era, as is known from epigraphic evidence, we

get an indirect support of the epoch of the era of the Gupta Vikramāditya to be 58 B.C. the well-known epoch of the Vikrama era.

I now append a list of the inscriptions recorded in the Kṛta or 'Mālava-gaṇa' era with their corresponding equivalents in Christian era assuming 458 B.C. to be the epoch of the era.

1. The two Nāndsā (Rājputānā) pillar inscriptions dated in Kṛta year 282 (Dr. BHANDARKAR's *List of Northern Inscriptions* No. 1) records the performance of the Śaṣṭirātra sacrifice by Śaktiguṇaguru. This date is, therefore, equivalent to (458-282, or) 176 B.C. during Puṣyamitra's rule when Vedic sacrifices were revived.

2. The newly discovered three Maukhari inscriptions on Yūpas (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII. No. 7, pp. 42-52) dated in Kṛta year 295 mentions Mahāsenāpati Vala. This title 'Mahāsenāpati' reminiscent of Śunga times (cf. Senāpati Puṣyamitra) is noticed by Prof. A. S. ALTEKAR the editor of the inscriptions. The date of the inscriptions is equivalent to (458-295, or) 163 B.C. during Puṣyamitra's reign.

3. The Vijaygadh inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana (BHANDARKAR's *List* No. 2) dated in Kṛta year 428 is equivalent to (458-428, or) 30 B.C. (= v.s. 28 current) during Candragupta I's or his son Samudragupta's rule.

4. The Mandasor inscription of Naravarman, father of Viśvavarman of the inscription following, (BHANDARKAR's *List* No. 3), dated in Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa year 461 is equivalent to Vikram year 61 = A.D. 4 during Chandragupta II's rule. 'Naravarman is called in the inscription Simhavikrāntagāmin, which most probably refers to his being a feudatory of Candragupta II of the Gupta family one of whose titles was Simhavikrama'.

5. The Gangdhār inscription of Viśvavarman, father of Bandhuvarman who was a feudatory of Kumāragupta I, (BHANDARKAR's *List* No. 4) dated in Kṛta year 480 is equivalent to v.s. 80 = A.D. 23 and falls during Candragupta II's rule.

6. Dr. BHANDARKAR's Nagari epigraph (BHANDARKAR's *List* No. 5) dated in Kṛta year 481 is equivalent to v.s. 81 = A.D. 24 and falls during Candragupta II's reign.

7. The Mandasor inscriptions of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, (BHANDARKAR's *List* No. 6 and 8) dated in Mālava-gaṇa years 493 and 529 during Kumāragupta I's rule are equivalent to v.s. 93 and 129 (= A.D. 36 and 72 respectively) when Kumāragupta I was ruling (Kumāragupta I reigned from Sam. 93 to 136).

8. The Mandasor inscriptions of Prabhākara (BHANDARKAR's *List* No. 7) dated in Mālava year 524 mentions the early Gupta Emperor Candragupta II and his son Govindagupta. In this inscription Indra (= Mahendra = Kumāragupta I, who is styled 'Śrī Mahendra' on his coins) is represented as being suspicious of Govinda's power, thus showing clearly that the Mālava year 524 must fall within Kumāra I's reign. This date is equivalent to v.s. 124 = A.D. 67 and falls during Govindagupta's brother Kumāragupta

I's rule. (Kumāragupta I reigned from Sam. 93 to 136). 'As Prabhākara is called Guptānvayāri-druma-dhūma-ketu, he probably was a feudatory of the Imperial Gupta dynasty'.

9. The Mandāsor inscription of Rājādhirāja Yaśo-dharman Viṣṇuvar-dhana who defeated Mihirakula, as we know from the former's two other inscriptions, (BHANDARKAR's *List* No. 9) dated in Mālava year 589, is equivalent to v.s. 189=A.D. 132, showing clearly that Mihirakula as well as Narasimhagupta Bālāditya lived during this time thus exactly verifying the date for these, as preserved in Yuan Chwang's Records.

NOTES OF THE MONTH

THE SILVER JUBILEE OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA

In our Notes for January, 1942, we gave in brief a short account of the signal services rendered by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, to the cause of Oriental learning during the last twenty-five years. We also announced the general programme of the Silver Jubilee celebrations then contemplated by the Institute. Subsequently in November 1942, the Institute decided to celebrate its Silver Jubilee on the 4th and 5th of January, 1943, and fixed up a suitable programme for this auspicious function. We are now happy to report that this memorable function in the annals of the Institute is now an accomplished fact and it is our duty to record here a short account of it for the information of our readers, especially those who could not attend the function personally owing to the present disturbed conditions of travel.

The celebrations of the Jubilee commenced on the morning of Monday, the 4th of January, 1943, in a spacious *mandapa* specially constructed on the western side of the main building of the Institute. To the west of this *mandapa* the site for the planting of a *Vaṭa* tree was selected. At this site Principal Vaijanath Kashinath RAJWADE, M.A., the veteran Vedic scholar¹ and the Chairman of the First Executive Board of the Institute, planted with his own hand a robust *Vaṭa* plant in the presence of a distinguished gathering

1. Principal RAJWADE was born in 1859. He was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Working Committee of the Institute (1915-1918) with four Secretaries : Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR, Dr. P. D. GUNE, Mr. N. B. UTGIKAR, and Dr. KURTKOTI (now His Holiness Śrī Saṅkarācārya of Nasik). Dr. GUNE worked wholeheartedly as Secretary of the Institute from 1918 to 1921, a period during which he laid the foundation of the future greatness of the Institute with the help of his colleagues on the first executive Board, viz. Prin. RAJWADE, Dr. BELVALKAR, Mr. UTGIKAR, Prof. R. D. KARMARKAR, Dr. N. G. SARDESAI, Prof. R. D. RANADE and Rao Br. K. G. JOSHI and other sympathisers of the Institute. The Institute owes much to these workers as they initiated such activities as the Mahābhārata Edition, the First Oriental Conference, the Government Oriental Series, the *Annals* of the Institute, etc. All these activities in their full blossom now bear ample testimony to the wisdom, foresight and energy of these pioneer builders. A history of the origin and progress of the Institute during the last 25 years based on authentic records needs to be written in extenso before long by scholars like Dr. BELVALKAR, Prof. RANADE and Prin. KARMARKAR, whose impressions of the early life of the Institute are still vivid. Dr. GUNE died in 1922, Mr. UTGIKAR died in 1930 and Dr. N. G. SARDESAI, the first Treasurer of the Institute passed away on 22nd January, 1943. Dr. SARDESAI was a Vice-Patron of the Institute. He could not attend the Silver Jubilee celebrations owing to his illness in spite of an intense desire to do so and it is really tragic that he should pass away before these notes are published !

consisting of Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN, delegates of learned bodies in India, members of the Institute and other guests. It was an impressive ceremony at 8-30 A.M. when the rays of the early sun had just begun to brighten the landscape and the still rocks of the adjoining hills, the delegates of mother earth at this auspicious ceremony, which was attended with Vedic prayers sung by a band of Vaidika Brāhmaṇas. After the distribution of *dakṣiṇā* to the Brāhmaṇas and *prasāda* to the guests assembled the morning programme was concluded.

The main programme of the day was fixed up for the evening and public interest in it was roused to such an extent that almost two hours before the commencement of the programme a stream of visitors to the *mandapa* was gathering force and by 5 P.M. this gorgeously decorated *mandapa* was packed to the full with ladies and gentlemen, the best representatives of the intellectual life of Poona. Shrimant BALASAHEB Pant Pratinidhi, the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Chairman of the Regulating Council of the Institute accompanied with Principal J. R. GHARPURE, the Chairman of the Executive Board and Dr. R. N. DANDEKAR, the energetic secretary of the Institute received at the door of the *mandapa* Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN and the Raja Saheb of Bhor, the president of the inaugural function and introduced him to the members of the Regulating Council, the General Editor of the Mahābhārata, Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR and the Curator of the Institute, Mr. P. K. GODE. Mr. N. C. KELKAR, the popular Poona leader in a suitable speech introduced the President to the audience and proposed him to the chair. The Rajasaheb of Aundh in his welcome speech reviewed the manifold activities of the Institute during the last quarter of a century and the appreciation they had evoked from scholars all over the world. He also indicated the future programme of the Institute and appealed to the younger generation of intellectuals in the country to carry on the good work of their predecessors who by dint of perseverance coupled with hope and optimism had brought the Institute to a degree of perfection unattainable by academic bodies with modest resources. The Rajasaheb of Bhor thanked the management of the Institute for giving him an opportunity to associate himself with the Jubilee celebrations, which were a crowning glory to the enduring work done by the Institute during the last 25 years. The several delegates of eminent learned bodies present on the occasion then read messages of congratulations and good wishes from their respective institutions. The Secretary of the Institute communicated to the audience the names of eminent bodies and persons, who had sent their messages for the occasion but who could not be present at the function. From these messages we quote the following message of His Excellency Sir Roger LUMLEY, the Governor of Bombay, who is the President of the Institute :—

"Since its foundation more than a quarter of century ago, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute has rendered great service to the cause

of Oriental learning, and deeply enriched the tradition of Indian scholarship. As President of the Institute I am proud of the noteworthy contributions which have been made to the study of India's literary heritage under its auspices, and I am glad of the occasion of its Silver Jubilee to congratulate it upon the brilliant achievements in Indian classical scholarship which it has fostered during the past 25 years. I give my best wishes for the Institute for the future and I shall look forward in particular to the day when its great work for the Mahabharata has been successfully completed."

The message was hailed with cheers by the distinguished gathering. The Secretary also read a message from H. E. Sir Leslie WILSON, the former Governor of Bombay and President of the Institute, who is now the Governor of Queensland. The message was accompanied with a contribution for the Silver Jubilee Fund which brought a sweet remembrance of Sir Leslie WILSON's visit to the Institute in 1927, when the first fascicule of Dr. SUKTHANKAR's critical edition of the Mahābhārata was presented to His Excellency.

The President then announced that the following eminent scholars were elected honorary members of the Institute on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee :—Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN, M. M. Dr. Gaurishankar H. OJHA M. M. Prof. S. Kuppaswami SHASTRI, Prof. Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M. M. Prof. P. V. KANE, Prof. M. HIRIYANNA, Dr. B. C. LAW, and Prof. Dr. Suniti Kumar CHATTERJI.

The Secretary further announced amidst cheers the following donations :—

1. RAJASAHAB OF BHOR—Rs. 2,500 (for the foundation of a Silver Jubilee Research Fellowship at the Institute).
2. Shrimant Kanayyalal BHANDARI of Indore—Rs. 2,000 (Mahabharata Fund).
3. H. E. H. the Nizam's Government—Rs. 500 (Silver Jubilee Fund).
4. H. H. Sau. Maharani Indirabaisaheb HOLKAR of Indore—Rs. 500 (Mahabharata Fund).
5. H. H. the Maharaja of Baroda—Rs. 250 (Silver Jubilee Fund).
6. H. H. the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior)—Rs. 250 (Silver Jubilee Fund).
7. H. H. the Maharajaisaheb of Dewas (Senior),—Rs. 251 (Silver Jubilee Fund).
8. Shrimant Rajasahab of Phaltan—Rs. 100 (Silver Jubilee Fund).
9. Mr. M. R. JOSHI—Rs. 500 (Mahabharata Fund) in memory of his father the late Mr. R. B. JOSHI, the author of Marathi Grammars and other books.

(The list of these donations was announced on the evening of the next day). The Secretary further announced that 15 new life-members were created on the occasion of the Jubilee and read out their names to the gathering. Minor contributions to the Silver Jubilee Fund received from the Members and other sympathisers amounted to about Rs. 1,500 in response to the appeal sent to

them. The Secretary thanked all the donors for their spontaneous co-operation and the generosity shown by them on the occasion which was quite encouraging in spite of the troubled times through which India was passing at the moment. At the request of the President Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN then announced the publication of two important research publications edited by the learned Secretary Dr. R. N. DANDEKAR, viz. (1) *Progress of Indic Studies* which contains a survey of the work done in several branches of Indology in India and outside during the last 25 years (pages 406) taken by eleven eminent scholars; (2) *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Annals* (nearly 690 pages and 20 plates) containing 70 research articles on a variety of subjects pertaining to Indology. Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN next awarded Silver Jubilee Medals for their "Distinguished Services to the Institute" to five gentlemen, viz. Shrimant BALASAHEB Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., Rajasaheb of Aundh, the prominent originator and patron of the Mahabharata scheme; Principal J. R. GHARPURE, B.A., LL.B., the present Chairman of the Executive Board with energetic leadership and solid work to his credit for the well-being of the Institute. Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR, M.A., PH.D., one of the founders of the Institute, who has identified himself with its work and guided it with rare devotion, industry and optimism during the last 25 years; Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, M.A., PH.D., the helmsman of the Institute's epoch-making enterprise of the Critical Edition of the Mahabharata, who by the high standard of his scholarship has brought international honour to the work of the Institute, and Mr. P. K. GODE, M.A., who by his vigilant and efficient administration as Curator of the Institute and also by the rich harvest of his learned papers has helped to consolidate the reputation of the Institute for rigorous methodology and precise scholarship in the domain of the literary and cultural historiography of India.

Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN, the chief guest, then delivered his Silver Jubilee address which was listened to by the audience with rapt attention. The text of this beautiful and inspiring address will be published in extenso in the *Annals* of the Institute. We may, however, deal here with its salient points. In thanking the Institute for inviting him to give the address on this auspicious occasion Sir RADHAKRISHNAN observed that the late Sir Ramakrishna Gopal BHANDARKAR in whose name the Institute is founded was a master intellect. He lived up to the standard which he laid down for a good research student in one of his addresses delivered on 15th December, 1918. This Institute was the first of its kind for Indological studies and it has passed through the period of the armistice between the two wars carrying on its valuable work unhampered by the events of the world. It is the duty of intellectuals to preserve the heritage of reason and speak for the tradition of civilization. There are certain things without which we cannot live and certain other things without which we should not care to live. We require to be educated not merely for life but for the good life: India is the only country in the world which has preserved the marvellous continuity of the essentials

of its civilization in spite of attacks from within and without. India has never been exclusive and though fascinated by other cultures it was never culturally subjugated. We must create, however, a future India with new conceptions of life and duty and movement is the essence of life. As the guardians of the essential wisdom of India it is our great function to preserve and transmit to future generations the burning faith in the spirit and equality of man which will consume selfishness and destroy bondage. In concluding his stirring address Sir RADHAKRISHNAN said :—" I hope very much that the important work which the Institute has undertaken will not be hampered by lack of funds. It will be a libel on our princes and merchants to suggest that their generosity will fail in the matter of this great cultural enterprise."

Mr. B. S. KAMAT, a Vice-President of the Institute, then proposed a vote of thanks to the President the chief guest, Delegates of learned bodies and the public, which was carried with acclamation from the huge audience. After distribution of flowers the programme for the day terminated at about 8-30 P.M. The Rajasaheb of Aundh then gave a private exhibition of a film to Sir RADHAKRISHNAN and other guests in the Central Hall of the Institute.

On Tuesday, the 5th January, the programme began with a group photograph of Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN, the Delegates and Members of the Regulating Council of the Institute. At 9 A.M. Dr. C. Kunhan RAJA of the University of Madras delivered an interesting lecture on "the Message of the Naimiṣāranya" with Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN in the chair.

Dr. RAJA spoke about the great synthesis effected by the sages of Naimiṣāranya and of the perennial source of inspiration which the Vedic religion had given to India. He referred to the three great syntheses : the Vedic, the Epic, as adumbrated in the message of the Naimiṣa forest and finally the one which is being effected at the present time. He spoke at great length about the various systems of philosophy, including Buddhist and Jain, and demonstrated how this Great Epic of India brought the noblest message to every man in the simplest language. "If one was not born in India during the great Mahābhārata age the present one was the next best choice. He delineated the genius of the Naimiṣa sages in their ability to imbibe and synthesise or integrate living ideals and thoughts by sacrificing the effete ones, thus renovating eternally the sanātana-Dharma, source of both *artha* and *kāma*. It was an ultimate philosophy of value which determined the result of the great Epic struggle, and so long as we Indians hold ourselves true to the eternal value of the spirit, so long the message of the Great Epic of India will hold a beacon light of peace and goodwill to humanity in its onward march.

The lecture was very well attended and was much appreciated by the audience. The concluding remarks of the President were also very inspiring. Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. RAJA and Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN. The delegates then paid a visit to the Law College, Poona, where they were welcomed and shown round by Prin. J. R. GHARPURE.

At 12 noon the Rajasaheb of Aundh gave a dinner (Indian style) to Sir

S. RADHAKRISHNAN, the Delegates, Members of the Institute and other guests. From 3-30 P.M. onwards an informal discussion on varied Indological topics was carried on upto 6 P.M. with Rev. Father HERAS S.J. in the Chair. Many distinguished scholars took part in it. Rev. Father HERAS took a brief review of the topics discussed and indicated some of their important aspects. Dr. Manilal PATEL, the Director of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, proposed a vote of thanks to the President and to all those who participated in the discussions. The Rajasaheb of Aundh arrived at 6 P.M. and was received by the Honorary Secretary and other members of the Executive Board of the Institute. The proceedings of the evening then commenced with the recital of māṅgala śloka; Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR,¹ the Secretary of the Mahābhārata Editorial Board, made a brief statement regarding the progress of the Critical Edition of the Great Epic. He then presented the *Aranyakaparvan* edited by himself to the Rajasaheb and announced the publication of a fascicule of the *Sabhāparvan* edited by Prof. Franklin EDGERTON of the Yale University.

The Raja Saheb of Aundh in his speech made a fervent appeal to the princes and people of India to give their financial support to the Institute and thus help the Editorial Board of the Mahābhārata to bring this national enterprise to a successful completion before long. In conclusion Dr. R. N. DANDEKAR thanked all those who had helped him to make the Silver Jubilee celebrations a grand success. The Rajasaheb of Aundh then exhibited a film relating to his tour to the Himalayas with some explanatory remarks. The sight of the enchanted Himalayan scenery as revealed by the film proved extremely entertaining and fascinating to the audience. Thus came to a happy close the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

1. As these notes were being concluded the Editors of the *New Indian Antiquary* were required to attend the sick bed of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR at the Sassoon Hospital, Poona on 21st January 1943. Dr. SUKTHANKAR got a severe attack of paralysis at about 1 p.m. on this day and in spite of the best medical treatment passed away at 7-50 p.m. His funeral took place on the morning of 22nd January when members of the Institute and many eminent people attended. Mr. N. C. KELKAR and others paid a glowing tribute to Dr. SUKTHANKAR for his work on the Mahābhārata and other activities for the Institute. His sudden and tragic demise is a bolt from the blue for Indology! The Editors owe much to his inspiration, advice and co-operation in all their literary activities including the foundation of the *New Indian Antiquary*. This loss to Indology is irreparable and will be deeply mourned by all his Scholar friends in India, Europe and America.



DR. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, M.A., PH.D.,
General Editor of the Critical Edition of the
Mahābhārata.

Boṇu :
4th May 1887

Died :
21st January 1943

(Through the courtesy of Prof. D. D. Kosambi.)

ABHINAVAGUPTA'S THEORY OF MEANING

By

KANTI CHANDRA PANDEY, Lucknow.

Abhinava attempts the problem of meaning from the metaphysical, logical, psychological, epistemic and linguistic points of view. His field is very vast and fertile. His chief attempt is to account for meaning that develops, not in ordinary worldly situation, but in the aesthetic situation. He analyses the contents of meaning in terms of (I) the contents of the situation received through sensations, (II) nervous response which finds external physical expression in the voluntary and involuntary mimetic changes, (III) emotive response and (IV) persisting state of the subject.

While attempting the problem from the metaphysical point of view he discusses the subjective aspect of the experience (a) its relation to the ultimate, (b) the nature of its state and the why of it. From the logical point of view he tries to show the nature of the meaning in aesthetic situation as distinct from (a) right (b) wrong (c) dubious (d) illusive etc.

From the epistemic point of view he brings out (I) true nature of relation between the subject and the object ; both of the focus of the situation i.e. the hero to the situation in which he is placed and of the spectator to the whole aesthetic presentation including the hero. (II) The subjective conditions necessary for interpreting the presentation so that it may have the same meaning as it had for the poet who originally conceived it. (III) The mental faculties operative in the course of the development of the aesthetic meaning. (IV) The distinction of such faculties from the faculties at work in the development of meaning in ordinary worldly situation. (V) Elimination of certain elements, common in ordinary meaning, from the aesthetic meaning.

From the psychological point of view he explains meaning (I) in terms of nervous response to the situation, not in terms of the results of modern biological researches which is the chief merit of modern psychological theory of meaning, but in terms of apparent physical changes such as are involved in petrification, tremor, watery eyes and other effects of or responses to the situation and (II) in terms of transient emotions and psycho-physical factors involved in them.

And from the linguistic point of view (I) he discusses the powers of language, (II) points out the distinctive function of each power and (III) how four types of distinct meanings cannot develop without these powers of language.

Abhinava's special contribution to the theory of meaning is the establishment of the suggested meaning (Dhvani) as distinct from other three types

of meaning, conventional, (ग्रीमधेयार्थ) Secondary (लक्षार्थ) and intentional (तात्पर्यार्थ). In the course of this paper the consideration of space prevents me from dwelling upon the subject from all the points of view mentioned in the introductory paragraph. I shall, therefore, confine myself to giving only a summary view.

His problem of meaning is an integral part of the aesthetic problem. It is related to the central fact in the aesthetic consciousness as a whole, the basic mental state at its highest pitch (उपचित स्थायी) which does not admit of objective presentation. The suggested meaning in fact is admitted only to account for the presence of the said central fact. It develops on a higher plane of experience as the intellectual apprehension of meaning of the presented takes place and various responses are evoked.

The effectiveness of suggestion depends on the peculiar constitution of the personality which faces the aesthetic presentation as a whole and in which the aesthetic consciousness as a whole, with the suggested basic mental state in the focus, develops. Let us, therefore, present his view of the personality in the context of aesthetic experience. His method is analytical. He takes the consciousness as a whole and analyses it into its constituents.

The limit beyond which the analysis cannot be carried is an *Ābhāsa* (phenomenon). The word *Ābhāsa* in his system stands for "All that can be said to exist in any way and with regard to which the use of any kind of language is possible, be it the subject, the object, the means of knowledge or knowledge itself.

According to him what is given is a whole. But this whole admits of analysis. Analysis, however, will reveal only the wholes within whole, *Ābhāsa* within *Ābhāsa*. And the constituents so revealed differ according to the analysing individual's inclination or tendency, attitude and knowing capacity.

For instance, if we analyse our experience of a jar, we find that though ordinarily it is taken to be one *Ābhāsa*, the object of knowledge, it embodies as many *Ābhāsas* as there are words which can be used with reference to it by various analytical perceivers, looking at it from different points of view. To an ordinary perceiver it is a combination of *Ābhāsas* of roundness, materiality, externality, blackness, existence and so on. But if a scientist were to do an atomic or electronic analysis of the same, how many perceptual acts will he have to do and how many words will he require to describe the results of his analysis? Can any body say that the atoms or electrons are not the constituents of what is ordinarily taken to be one thing? The *Ābhāsavādin*, therefore, holds that each *Ābhāsa*, as we perceive or cognise it, is a collocation of configuration of a certain number of *Ābhāsas*, each of which requires a separate mental process to cognise, and that causal efficiency (*Artha-kriyā-kāri-tva*) depends on its determinate cognition and the latter also depends

upon the inclination, immediate need and cognitive capacity of the individual.

यथारुचि यथार्थित्वं
यथाव्युत्पत्तिं भिद्यते
आभासः पुनरेकस्मिन्
अनुसन्धानसाधिते ।

यद्यपि षट् इति बहिः परिदृष्टे एकोर्यः तथापि तावानेवासौ न, अपितु पृथक् निर्मज्जमानता-
मपि सहते. I. P. V., II, 86.

तत्र च प्रत्यक्षं प्रत्याभासं प्रामारण्यं भजते, विमर्शलक्षणस्य प्रमितिव्यापागस्य एकैकशब्दवाच्येऽर्थं
विश्रान्तेः I. P. V., I, 189.

Let us, therefore, see what are the constituents of the aesthetic personality as revealed by Ābhāsavādin's analysis of it.

THE CONSTITUENTS OF PERSONALITY.

I. *Taste or Rasikatva.*

Taste is the inborn faculty of discerning the aesthetic elements in a presentation and of finding great satisfaction in aesthetic contemplation.

II. *Sahridayatva or aesthetic susceptibility.*

The aesthetic experience is the subjective realisation of a basic mental state at its highest pitch due to the identification with the focus of the presented. It presupposes, therefore, experience of the emotive situations, similar to those presented on the stage in ordinary life, on the part of the spectator. In the absence of similar emotive experiences in ordinary life, the aesthetic presentation will have as little meaning as the sight of a very delicious fruit has to one who sees it for the first time and is perfectly ignorant of its taste. A love scene, for instance, will have no meaning to a life-long celibate. The following few lines will make it clear how practical experiences, similar to those aesthetically presented, help in aesthetic experience :—

Every group of sensations, apart from the transient immediate effect in leading to a certain experience, has more lasting effect on the perceiver inasmuch as it affects his *vitality*, the power to react, so as to make it better fitted for reaction to a similar stimulation in future. Thus, after a few experiences of the same kind the nervous system, like a trained body of soldiers, gets ready for all the appropriate responses at the stimulation by any part of the total situation. Let it be clearly understood that this response is involuntary and more or less mechanical, because it does not presuppose any psychic function. When the vital forces are so affected by a series of practical experiences the response to the stimulation by any part of an emotive situation is such as if the whole situation had stimulated it. The constituent of personality which is responsible for this type of reaction is technically called *Sahridayatva*.

III. *Power of Visualisation.*

But the aesthetic susceptibility can supply only one side of the total emotive state, namely, the physical, which is responsible for the physical reaction to the stimulating situation. But the experience is essentially psycho-physical. Another subjective pre-requisite of the aesthetic experience is, therefore, the power of visualisation. The real aesthetic image is not what is given. The given is only one third of the total. The suggested elements and the spiritual meaning, which are not given, are supplied by this power of visualisation which partly removes the shifting opaque barrier which divides the unconscious from the conscious and brings about the union of the suggested elements and the spiritual meaning, which come from the unconscious, with the given and thus completes the image. This image is different from that which arises in a determinate cognition, inasmuch as the latter is determined by the purposive attitude of the percipient, while in the former case the aesthetic attitude, which is characterised by freedom from all individual purposiveness, is the determining factor. Hence the aesthetic image has life which a mere cognitive image totally lacks. This power of clear visualisation of the aesthetic image in all its fullness and life is technically called '*Pratibhā*'.

IV. *Intellectual Background.*

But the power of visualisation, in order that it may function and complete the aesthetic image, presupposes the unconscious. And the unconscious is only what was once experienced. Therefore, aesthetic experience is not possible unless the spectator has had the consciousness of all those elements, which are necessary to complete the image, in some form or other.

V. *Contemplative Habit.*

Aesthetic experience, in respect of the process involved in its acquisition, is very much like the religious mystic experience got through objective contemplation: just as the elements of the mystic experience, resulting from contemplation, are not exclusively or entirely those which form the object of contemplation, but are rather those which are mostly subjective but appear objectively because of the force of contemplation, so are those of the aesthetic experience and so also they become objectified. Further, just as one or two days' religious contemplation does not result in mystic experience so does not the aesthetic contemplation in aesthetic experience.

VI. *Psycho-physical condition.*

Every experience presupposes a certain psycho-physical state. The charming music, which is ordinarily pleasant, is positively unpleasant when gloom sits on the heart. The sportive movements of a beautiful lady similarly do not give rise to that experience in an old man which they naturally arouse in a young man. Aesthetic experience, therefore, because it is a result

of contemplation and consequent on identification with the focus of the presented situation, requires the absence of all deep rooted ideas, which the music may not be able to drive away, whether they be pleasant or unpleasant. A man, for instance, who has just lost a relative or is arm in arm with his beloved, cannot have aesthetic experience. Further, all kinds of aesthetic experiences cannot be got at all times of life. Experience of perfect tranquility (*Śānta*) is not ordinarily possible in youth, nor that of erotic (*Śṛṅgāra*) in old age. Hence suitable psycho-physical conditions are also necessary for aesthetic experience.

VII. *Capacity to identify.*

Identification consists in the unification of the pure self of the percipient with the human focus of the situation, which, being freed from the elements of time, place and all that constitutes individuality, is a mere set of certain psycho-physical conditions. Let us, therefore, now analyse the constituents of this set and find out how they are responsible for the peculiar nature of the aesthetic experience.

As a rule, the appearance of the hero on the stage is never without a well defined purpose. As every purpose has an objective reference, it naturally involves a certain psycho-physical attitude. When at this stage he is faced with a situation, the disposition comes to the forefront, and, assisted by taste, intellectual background and power of visualisation, arranges and moulds the sensations, unites with the given the necessary elements from the unconscious and so completes the aesthetic image. This evokes aesthetic susceptibility and appropriate responses follow.

PROCESS OF IDENTIFICATION.

Identification is a slow process. It does not take place all at once. For the sake of convenience, we divide the elements, involved in it, into two classes.

- (I) The presupposed. (II) The given.

The process of identification begins at the moment of freedom of the self of the spectator from everything that constitutes individuality. At this moment there is no purpose, no bodily or mental attitude, no disposition and consequently no psycho-physical responses are going on. When at this stage the hero appears in certain psycho-physical condition in the midst of a befitting situation, the first thing that he does, is to draw the entire attention of the audience to himself. He then inspires the spectator with his purpose. This leads to the formation, on the part of audience, of mental and bodily attitude and so of disposition towards the rest of the presented exactly like those of the hero; then, as the audience sees and hears all that is going on, on the stage, as if it were through the eyes and the ears of the hero, the following presupposed subjective powers and conditions are requisitioned.

(I) Taste not only keeps the attention fixed on the presented but also does not allow any idea, that might arouse the consciousness of individuality in the spectator, to come. (II) The power of visualisation partly removes the shifting opaque barrier that divides the *unconscious* from the conscious. (III) It unites the given with what is exposed from behind the barrier. (IV) It puts the image so formed against the *intellectual background* and so completes the aesthetic image. (V) This evokes aesthetic susceptibility, (VI) and emotive responses follow.

It is only in the personality so constituted that the process involved in the rise of the suggested spiritual meaning can take place.

THE PROCESS.

The mental process involved in the rise of consciousness of the suggested meaning from a dramatic presentation begins with rise of the attitude of play at the time of determination to go to theatre. This attitude differs from practical attitude in ordinary life inasmuch as it is marked by total absence of expectation of something really happening to one's self. It consists in the expectancy of a short life in the ideal world of beautiful sights and sounds. This attitude is responsible for the perceiver's self-forgetfulness as soon as the music starts. All ideas, therefore, connected with worldly life are inhibited. The introductory scene further determines his attitude. The determination consists in (I) the supervision of the basic mental attitude with which he is to face the entire presentation (II) tendency to identify with the focus of the situation and to perceive the presented through the eyes and ears of the latter. Thus, when the presentation of the plot begins, the elements of time and place, reality or unreality of the presented, and all those mental processes, which are involved in the rise of consciousness of right, wrong, dubious and possible, are inhibited from the intellectual apprehension of the presented.

नाट्ये तु पारमार्थिकं किञ्चिदद्य ये भविष्यतीत्येवं भूताभिसन्धिसंस्काराभावात् सर्व-
परिषत्साधारणप्रमोदसारापर्यन्तविरसनादरणीयलोकोत्तरदर्शनश्रवणयोगीभविष्यामीत्यभिसन्धिसंस्कारादुचित
गीतातोद्यच्चर्चणाविस्मृतसांसारिकभावतया विमलमुकुरकल्पीभूतनिजहृदयः सूत्राद्यभिनयावलोकनोद्भिन्न
प्रमोदशोकादितन्मयीभावः पाठ्यार्कणनपात्रान्तरप्रवेशात् समुत्पन्ने देशकालविशेषवेशानालङ्घिनि सम्यह-
मिथ्यासंशयसंभावनादिज्ञानविज्ञेयत्वपरामशीनास्पदे रामरावणादि विषयाध्यवसाय ।

A. Bh., Vol. I, pp. 36-37.

While the experience of the spectator on the physical plane is identical with that of the focus of the situation, because his heart is beating and so nerves are responding to the situation exactly like those of the focus; for the reason that he is possessed of aesthetic susceptibility; and the same is the case with the experience on the intellectual plane because the imaginative faculty (*Pratibhā*), assisted by the intellectual background, has populated the field of imagination with more or less the same figures; another and the

most important aspect of the aesthetic experience also develops along with the same line to the same pitch, on a higher, the spiritual, plane.

FURTHER PROCESS.

How the presented situation with a focus together with automatic physical changes is responsible for the development of the spiritual suggested meaning on a higher plane, is explained by Abhinavagupta in his *Abhinava Bhāratī*. He takes the illustration from Kālidāsa's famous drama, *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*.

The process may be explained as follows :—

The aesthetic personality has been prepared by the introductory scene to receive the presented in the aesthetic manner. It has been freed from the elements of individuality by the preliminary music. A state of self-forgetfulness exists. At this stage presentation begins.

The scene is a part of the holy forest in the vicinity of Kaṇva's hermitage. A hermitage-deer appears pursued by king Duṣyanta in his Chariot. It is running for life from the arrow of the king. It is in very great fear. As such, it is represented to be responsible for the development of the suggested spiritual meaning "Terror". *Bhayānaka*, in the king and through him in the spectator who has identified himself with the former.

The process begins with the intellectual apprehension of the presented. The contents of consciousness are beautifully put in the following verse :—

ग्रीवामङ्गामिरामं मुहुरनुपतति स्यन्दने बद्धर्द्धः
पश्चार्धेन प्रविष्टः शरपतनभयात् भूयसा पूर्वकायम् ।
दर्भैर्धावलीदैः श्रमविततमुखभ्रंशिभिः कीर्णवर्त्मा
पदयोदप्रभ्रुतत्वाद्विचिन्तति बहुतरं स्तोक्रमुर्व्या प्रयाति ।

The spectator hears it. The consciousness of meaning of the verse as a whole arises in him through conventional and intentional powers of language (*Abhidhā* and *Tātparya*). The inner visualisation of the whole takes place. The elements of time, place and so forth are inhibited. The time is the chief factor in the causal efficiency of the individual. That having been inhibited, the inhibition of the individual naturally follows. The consciousness at this stage may be spoken of as "Terrified" (*Bhītaḥ*). The "Terrified" presupposes the cause of the terror. That in the present case being without any objective reality and, therefore, the "Terrified" being free from the objective relation is reduced to "Terror" (*Bhayam*). This terror, appearing in the consciousness of the spectator, who is free from all elements of individuality, affecting his heart so as to seem penetrating it, and being visualised so as to seem to be dancing as it were before the eyes, is the spiritual suggested meaning, technically called *Bhayānaka Rasa* which develops on the spiritual plane.

* वर्तमानतयैव विशेषाणां संभाव्यमानार्थक्रियासामर्थ्यात्मकं सालक्ष्ण्यं पर्यवसानात् न च तेषां वर्तमानतेत्यवगता तावद्विशेषबुद्धिः A. Bh., Vol. I, p. 36.

“ प्रीवामंगाभिरामम् ”—इत्यादि वाक्येभ्यो वाक्यार्थप्रतिपत्तेरनन्तरं मानसी साक्षात्कारात्मिकाऽ-पहसिततत्तद्वाक्योपासकालादिविभागा तावत्प्रतीतिरूपजायते । तस्यां यो मृगपोतकादिर्भाति तस्य विशेषरूपत्वाभावाद् भीत इति त्रासकस्यापारमार्थिकत्वाद् भयम् एव परं देशकालाद्यनालिङ्गितम् तत एव.....निर्विघ्नप्रतीतिप्राप्त्यम् साक्षादिव हृदये निविशमानं चक्षुषोरिव विपरिवर्तमानं भयानको रसः ।

A. Bh., Vol. I, p. 280.

THE SOURCE OF TERROR.

Here it may naturally be asked, where does this terror come from? In reply to this, Abhinava says 'that it does not come from outside'. It springs from within the self. The soul is beginningless and the tendencies of love and fear etc. (Vāsanās) are innate in it. These tendencies manifest themselves in some bewitching situation affecting the eye and the ear in such a way as to get clearly visualized within. When this happens in an aesthetic situation, it constitutes the suggested spiritual aspect of the meaning of aesthetic situation. In support of this view he cites the authority of no person than Kālidāsa, who says :—

रम्याणि वीक्ष्य मधुराश्च निशम्य शब्दान्
पर्युत्सुको भवति यत्सुखितोपि जन्तुः ।
तच्चेतसा स्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्वं
भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरसौहृदानि ॥

(शाकु. ५)

इत्यादि (अत्र हि स्मरतीति या स्मृतिरूपदर्शिता सा न तार्किकप्रसिद्धा, पूर्वमेतस्यार्थस्याननुभूतत्वात् । अपि तु प्रतिभानापरपर्यायसाक्षात्कारस्वभावे यमिति ।

A. Bh., Vol. I, p. 281.

THE HŪNAS IN INDIA

By

JAGAN NATH, Lahore.

In an article in the *New Indian Antiquary* Vol. Ist, pp. 36-42, Mr. K. G. ŚANKAR has discussed two important questions of Ancient Indian History, (1) the date and extent of the Hūṇa invasion, and (2) the nationality of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. Regarding the first his conclusion is that the only Hūṇa invasion of India took place in the reign of Skandagupta and it was repulsed, and 'there is no indication that the Huns ever succeeded in conquering the lands east of the Indus'.

It is true that the Hūṇa invasion which took place in the reign of Skandagupta was repulsed, but there is sufficient evidence to prove that a second Hūṇa invasion took place sometimes after Skandagupta's rule, and this time the Hūṇas succeeded in establishing an empire in India to the east of the Indus. Let us first take up the reference in the Mandasor Pillar Inscription of Yaśodharman. The inscription states that Yaśodharman enjoyed even those lands which had not been subject to the commands of the Hūṇa rulers.¹ This comparison between the extent of Yaśodharman's empire and that of the Hūṇas could have been significant only if the Hūṇas had ruled over an extensive empire *in India*. The force of the words of the poet could have hardly been appreciated by the people of Daśapura, if the rule of the Hūṇas was confined to the outlying province of Gāndhāra as supposed by Mr. ŚANKAR. The Mandasor inscription defines the limits of Yaśodharman's empire, as extending from the Himalayas to the Mahendra mountain and from the Brahmaputra to the Western Ocean. This leaves out North-Western India, i.e. Gāndhāra, Panjab and Kashmīr. Now if the Hūṇa rule was confined to Gāndhāra, and did not extend to the east of the Indus, beyond the Panjab, the claim that Yaśodharman ruled over an empire more extensive than that of the Hūṇas in India, would be ridiculous. The comparison can be apt and significant, only if we regard the Hūṇas as rulers of an extensive kingdom, parts of which, at least were included in Yaśodharman's dominion. Moreover there is very reliable literary evidence which proves the existence of the Hūṇa rule, in territories to the east of the Indus. In the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa there is a reference to an expedition sent by king Prabhākara-var-dhana ruler of southern Panjab, against the Hūṇas of Uttarāpatha.² Bāṇa has evidently used the word Uttarāpatha here, for North-Western Panjab, and Kashmīr. In the *Divyāvadāna*, Taxila is described as a city of the Uttarā-

१. नाज्जा हूणाधिपानी क्षितिपतिमुकुटादवासिनी यान् प्रविष्टा ।

२. अथ क्रदाचिद्राजा राज्यवर्धनं हूणान् हन्तुं उत्तरापथं ग्राहिणोत् । *Harṣacarita*, V. p. 150.

patha.³ Rājasekhara also defines Uttarāpatha, as the country to the West of Pṛthūdaka, modern Pehowa, in the Karnal District of the Panjab.⁴ That Bāṇa's reference is not to the Hūṇas in Gāndhāra, is clear from the following passage :—

तेषु चैवसुस्यमानेषु क्रमेणोद्पादि हूणहरिणकेसरी सिन्धुराजज्वरो गुर्जरप्रजागरो गान्धारा-
धिपगन्धर्विपकूटपाकलो लाटपाटवपाटचरो मालवक्ष्मीलालतापरशुः प्रतापशील इति प्रथितापरनामा
प्रभाकरवर्धनो नाम राजाधिराजः ।⁵

Here Bāṇa clearly draws a line of distinction between the ruler of Gāndhāra and the Hūṇa King. That in Bāṇa's time the Hūṇas were occupying territory in the proximity of the Himalayas—probably parts of Kashmir, is indicated by the following statement :—

प्रविष्टे च कैलासप्रभाभासिनीं ककुम्भं भ्रातरि वर्तमानो नवे वयसि विक्रमरसानुरोधिनि केसरि-
शरभशार्दूलवराहबहूलेषु तुषारशैलोपकण्ठेषूत्कण्ठमानवनदेवताकटाक्षांशुशारितशरीरकान्तिः कीडन्मृगयां
मृगलोचनः कतिपयान्यहानि बहिरेव व्यलम्भत् । *Harṣacarita*, V. p. 150.

The Himalayas do not extend beyond the Indus to its west. Therefore it must be presumed that the country where Bāṇa locates the Hūṇas, is situated to the east of the Indus. There is yet another echo of the Hūṇa penetration into the very heart of India, in the *Nīlivākyaṃṛta* of Somadeva (C. 959 A.D.) who remarks :—

श्रूयते हि किल हूणाधिपतिः पण्यपुटवाहभिः सुभटैश्चित्रकूटं जग्राह ।

Chitrakūṭa may either be the modern Chitor in the Udaipur State, or Chitrakūt in the Banda District. It is thus sufficiently clear that the existence of the Hūṇa empire in India, to the East of the Indus, is not a 'myth' even if we exclude the evidence of the inscriptions of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula.

(ii) The Nationality of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula.

Neither in the Eran stone Boar Inscription of Toramāṇa nor in the Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula is there any indication that Toramāṇa and Mihirakula were Hūṇas. Naturally, therefore, it can be contended that there is no evidence to prove that these two rulers were Hūṇas. The objection was first raised by Mr. Dhirendranath MOOKERJEE,⁶ but he did not go into any details. The question has now been discussed at length by Mr. ŚANKAR who has come to the conclusion that they were either Parthians or Kṣatriyas. Mr. ŚANKAR contends that even in the Mandasor Pillar Inscription which mentions the Hūṇas, Mihirakula has not been called a Hūṇa. But while we may admit that there is no express statement in that inscription regarding Mihirakula's being a Hūṇa, we can hardly concede the implication that he

3. राज्ञोऽशोकस्योत्तरापथे तक्षशिलानगरं विरुद्धम् ।

Divyāvadāna, p. 407 (COWELL's edition).

4. पृथुदकात् परतः उत्तरापथः *Kāvyamimāṃsā*, XVII (G. O. S. p. 94 l. 8).

5. *Harṣacarita*, IV, p. 120 (Nirnayasāgara Press edition).

6. *JIH*, 17, 309.

was not a Hūna because he is said to have been defeated by Yaśodharman and 'the erstwhile' contemporaries cannot be changed into bygone predecessors !' The reference to the Guptas and the Hūnas in the Mandasor Pillar Inscription is not a mere matter of accident, but was purposely made by the poet, for they were the immediate predecessors of Yaśodharman and their rule had been witnessed by the people of Yaśodharman's day and they could appreciate the comparison. If the poet wanted to refer to 'bygone predecessors' in the remote past and draw imaginary comparisons he could have done much better by selecting the Mauryas, whose empire was far more extensive than that of the Guptas or the Hūnas. When the Mandasor Pillar inscription was put up, the Gupta and Hūna empires had been broken, though these dynasties had not been wiped out, but still lingered on in shrivelled glory as purely provincial powers. So there is nothing inappropriate if the 'erstwhile contemporaries' have been described as 'bygone predecessors' for they were no longer powerful rulers of any account, but had been reduced to the position of the *sāmantas*. An illustration may serve to make the point quite clear. The Mahrattas as a dominant power in India were defeated by the British and their Empire was broken up. But the Mahratta rule still continues in several parts of India. The Mahrattas are, therefore, both a 'bygone' as well as contemporary power. There is, therefore, nothing *a priori* against the view that Mihirakula was a Hūna.

Now let us examine some more arguments of Mr. ŚANKAR. He says, "The terms in which Toramāṇa is mentioned are noteworthy 'famous and resplendant Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Toramāṇa'. Nothing in this inscription indicates that Toramāṇa was a foreigner, much less a Hun". But the use of such 'terms' can hardly prove that Toramāṇa was not a foreigner, because such expressions are commonly found in the records of Indian Kings decidedly of foreign origin. The legend on the coins of Kadphises II is महर्जस रजदिरजस सर्वलोक इश्वरस विमकठफिसस ब्रदर । 'of Wim Kadphises, the king, of kings, lord of the entire world, Defender.' Excepting the name, everything indicates that the ruler was purely an Indian. The language is Indian, the religion of the ruler is Indian, the titles are Indian—महाराज and राजधिराज. Similarly the legend on the coins of Gondophares is महर्जस रजतिरजस ब्रतरस गदफर्नस. But the use of these titles cannot prove that Kadphises or Gondophares were *not foreigners*.

Referring to the Kura inscription Mr. ŚANKAR further says, "the titles Rājā and Mahārāja together with Shahi and Jaūvla indicate that he was a Hindu king of Persian origin, like the Śakas and Pahlavas and not a Hun". The word Shahi is of course Persian, but this title alone cannot prove Toramāṇa's Persian origin or his connection with the Śakas and Pahlavas. As a matter of fact no Śaka or Parthian ruler of India ever bore the title of Shahi or Jaūvla. The only rulers in ancient India who used the title Shahi were the Kings of the Kaniska group, but even they did not use the second title Jaūvla. The successors of the Imperial Kuṣāṇas in the

North-Western Panjab and the Kabul Valley continued to use the title Shahi, and when Toramāṇa conquered these territories he also adopted it in imitation of his predecessors.

While Mr. ŚANKAR accuses the Oriental scholars of having 'laboriously built up a myth by wrong identifications and uncritical mixing up of various sources, his own theory is worse than the old 'myth'. Firstly he identifies Toramāṇa of the inscriptions with Kalkirāja mentioned in Jain tradition as son of Śiśupāla ruler of Pāṭaliputra, and then proposes to identify this Śiśupāla of Jain accounts with the person of the same name in the Pahladpur Pillar Inscription.⁷ Mr. ŚANKAR's theory, is purely hypothetical. The Jain accounts do not mention Toramāṇa, but Kalkirāja as the son of Śiśupāla. Different scholars have identified Kalki with different historical persons. While the late Dr. K. P. JAYSWAL attempted on the authority of these very Jain accounts to identify Kalki with Yaśodharman,⁸ Mr. PATHAK identified him with Mihirakula⁹ and now Mr. ŚANKAR wants us to believe that Kalki is none else but Toramāṇa. This shows that Kalki is a mythical person, whom every writer can identify according to his fancy. That the Jain tradition about Kalki is utterly worthless, self-contradictory and therefore, quite untrustworthy, containing 'no grain of truth' has been very ably and conclusively proved by Mr. H. B. BHIDE.¹⁰ Some discrepancies between the Jain accounts and the epigraphic information may also be noticed, for they further demonstrate the hollowness of Mr. ŚANKAR's suggestion. According to the Jain accounts relied upon by Mr. ŚANKAR, the name of Kalki's son is Ajit, while according to the inscriptions the name of Toramāṇa's son is Mihirakula. What evidence has Mr. ŚANKAR produced to show that Ajit was another name of Mihirakula? Moreover, Mr. ŚANKAR himself asserts that Toramāṇa and Mihirakula of the inscriptions were not tyrants, and still he identifies Toramāṇa with Kalki, who, according to Jain writers, was a great tyrant. Further, neither in the Eran and Kura inscriptions of Toramāṇa nor in the Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula, the name of Toramāṇa's father is mentioned; and Dr. FLEET has very rightly remarked, "The omission of the name of Toramāṇa's father in the Eran Boar inscription contrasted with the fact that his own name as that of the father of Mihirakula is given in the Gwalior inscription dated in Mihirakula's reign indicates plainly if interpreted on the analogy of other epigraphical records drafted by Hindus, that Toramāṇa was the first of his tribe or class to establish himself in Mālwa¹¹]. It is therefore clear that Toramāṇa was the first of his house to become a king. He had no predecessor, Śiśupāla or any one else. Moreover the name Toramāṇa is neither Sanskritic nor Prakritic. It is evidently foreign. How can we expect that after using a purely Indian name, that of Śiśupāla, these people reverted to the use of their original language? It is clear that Śiśupāla has no connection with Toramāṇa. That Śiśupāla of the

7. *Fleet*, *CII*, III, p. 249 f. 8. *IA*, 1917 p. 145. 9. *IA*, 1918 p. 19.

10. *IA*, Vol. 48 (1919) pp. 123-128.

11. *IA*, 1889 p. 229.

Pahladpur inscription can never be a successor of the Imperial Guptas, but must be a predecessor, is clearly established by the palaeographic evidence. The characters of the Pahladpur inscription approximate more closely to those of the Kuṣāṇa records, and have little affinity with any inscriptions of the Imperial Guptas—early or late. Moreover the available epigraphic evidence shows that Śiśupāla could not have succeeded the Guptas in Northern India. The western part of the Gangetic plain, now covered by the United Provinces was held by the Maukharis, and in Magadha, there was ruling a branch of the Gupta dynasty itself. There is no evidence whatever, of a reliable character, that would show that Śiśupāla and Toramāṇa, were kings of Pāṭaliputra, and it is no use relying on tales of fictitious character.

In the Pahladpur inscription Śiśupāla has been called *pārthirōnikapālāḥ* i.e. commander of the King's forces, which according to Dr. FLEET can also indicate that Śiśupāla was a Parthian. But since we have proved that there is no connection between Śiśupāla and Toramāṇa, it follows *ipso facto* that Toramāṇa cannot be regarded as a Parthian on the basis of this evidence. He cannot be a Kṣatriya, as his name shows that he was a foreigner.

We are certainly on very sure ground when we base our conclusions on the epigraphic and numismatic records of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. The name Toramāṇa is apparently foreign. Prof. KARABACEK pointed out long ago that the name Toramāṇa and the title Jaūvla are purely Turkish words.¹² The question of Toramāṇa's nationality was discussed by Prof. Sten KONOW, who has arrived at the conclusion that Toramāṇa was a Hūṇa. I quote below the relevant parts of his arguments. "Among the Kuṣāṇo-Sasanian coins discussed by Prof. HERRFELD¹³ we find such as are ascribed to different Hepthalite Kings and bear the legend *soho zobol* i.e. Śāh Zabul. And Prof. JUNKER discusses some other Hepthalite coins, with legends containing the words Saho and Zabolo. Dr. HENNING has pointed out to me that *Zabolo* must be a title, and it seems evident that here we have the exact counterpart to the Śaha Jaūvla of the Kura inscription. *Śāhi* is of course the old title used by the Kuṣāṇas which had been adopted by the Hepthalites. It is possible and perhaps probable that *Jaūvila*, *Zawolo* was also borrowed from elsewhere. But the collocation of these two titles in Hepthalite legends and in the Kura inscription shows that our Toramāṇa was in all probability a Hūṇa".¹⁴

It will thus be clear that Toramāṇa and Mihirakula were Hūṇas, and the Hūṇa rule in India is not a myth. Like so many other foreign tribes, Śakas, Parthians, and Kuṣāṇas, the Hūṇas also became entirely Indianized. They adopted Indian culture, Indian religion and Indian language. Under the

12. Cf. G. BÜHLER, "The name Toramāṇa is neither Sanskrit nor Prākṛit, but in all probability a foreign one. Prof. J. KARABACEK of Vienna informs me that it is Turkish where *tōramān*, *tūramā* or *tōremen* means 'a rebel or insurgent' and he is inclined to connect Jaūvla with Jvl. 'a falcon'. *E.I.* Vol. I. p. 229.

• 13. *Memoirs of the Arch. Sur. of India* No. 38 pp. 19 f.

14. *SPAW.* 1930 pp. 650 ff.

15. *IHQ*, 1936, p. 532.

vital influence of the Indian culture they lost those barbaric characteristics, which are associated with the name Hūna, and it is no matter for surprise that during their rule in India donations were made to Buddhist monasteries, and temples dedicated to various gods of the Hindu pantheon were built in different parts of their Empire.

Before closing, we may also take note of another incorrect statement of Mr. ŚANKAR with regard to Yaśodharman. He says, "The Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman dated Mālava year 589 informs us that Yaśodharman was the founder of his own family (ātmavamśa)". But *Ātmavamśa* is not an adjective here, qualifying Yaśodharman, as Mr. ŚANKAR seems to take it; but is the object of *gamitaḥ*. The prose order of this part of the verse is येन (यशोधर्मणा) गरीयः आत्मवंशः उदितोदितपदं गमितः । and it means "by whom his own famous lineage has been raised to a higher and higher position." Moreover, in the same inscription there is another statement which clearly shows that Yaśodharman was not the first ruler in his dynasty but had predecessors. In line 9 of the Mandasor stone Slab inscription, Śaṣṭhidatta is described as "the servant of the Kings who founded the family of that lord (Yaśodharman¹⁶). Yaśodharman belonged to the family of Varmanas of Daśapura, known to us from Mandasor and Gangadhar inscriptions. A stone inscription of Naravarman has recently been discovered by Dr. Moti CHANDRA of the Prince of Wales Museum Bombay.¹⁷ In this inscription Naravarmā is described as *Aulikaralāñchanah*. The Mandasor Inscription of Mālava year 589 gives the same epithet to Yaśodharman. That clearly proves that Yaśodharman belonged to the same house to which belonged Naravarman, Viśvavarman, and Bandhuvvarman, and was not the founder of his line.

16. तस्य प्रभोर्बहुकृतां वृषाणां पादाभ्रयद्विभुत पुण्यकीर्तिः ।

17. The inscription has now been published in *E. I.* Vol. XXVI, p. 130.

REVIEWS

A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jains by Prof. H. R. KAPADIA, M.A., Sankdi Sheri, Gopipura, Surat, 1941. Pp. XII+272. Size :—5½"×9½". Price Rs. 5-4-0.

Histories of our own ancient literature can be written only by scholars who have familiarized themselves with this literature available in the several manuscript libraries in India and outside. Weber, Keith, Winternitz and others whom we quote and refer to in our research papers so frequently, had all of them unique opportunities of examining and describing MSS. dealing with different branches of our ancient literature, Jaina, Buddhist and Brahmanical. Their scholarly productions, whether critical editions of texts or research papers dealing with different aspects of literature had all of them originated from a close study of MSS. It is true that an authoritative history of literature pertaining to any branch of literature can be written only when critical editions of all extant works are published and the historical background of each work has been studied and its details recorded in separate monographs. This is, however, an endless task and we cannot afford to wait till the river is run off. Surveys of research work bearing on the history of literature, though tentative, have a value of their own as they show gaps in the field of our knowledge, which may be filled up by the labours of individual scholars. We, therefore, welcome Prof. KAPADIA's present *History of the Canonical Literature of the Jains*, materials for which he had been collecting simultaneously with his preparation of the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Jaina MSS.* in the Government MSS. Library at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona. In fact his idea of writing a comprehensive history of the Jaina Canonical literature got crystallized during his work on this catalogue, as he himself states in the Preface to the volume before us.

It may sound strange that a student of Mathematics like Professor KAPADIA, should convert himself into a student of literature and apply his life's energies to a study of the Jaina literature and pursue it with unremitting toil during the last twenty-five years or so. It is, however, a fact vouched by no less than about fifty different publications brought out by Prof. KAPADIA and recorded for reference in the present volume (pp. XI-XII). For sustained work of this type 'attachment' no less than detachment is necessary and we find it in an eminent degree in Prof. KAPADIA's literary habits and pursuits.

Besides the Preface and 'Analysis' which takes a brief survey of the topics dealt with in the volume the author gives us in seven chapters valuable material dealing with (1) the Genesis of the Jaina Scriptures, (2) the Classifications of the Āgamas, (3) Redaction of the Jaina Canon, (4) Extinct Āgamas of the Jains, (5) Extant Āgamas of the Jains, (6) Canonical exegetical Literature and (7) Comparison and Evaluation. In the presentation of this material he has made use of the work of earlier writers on the subject like Jacobi, Winternitz and others, whose studies on diverse topics pertaining to the Jaina literature paved the way for the present study in a more specialized manner. Though the volume is printed neatly by the Gujarati Printing Press the list of Additions and Corrections comprising eight pages could have been shortened without great effort, had the author exerted himself strenuously in the matter of proof-correcting. Perhaps this list is due to war-time hurry. The Index of names of authors, other persons and sects and that of names of works, doctrines and metres etc. are a useful addition to the volume.

On the whole Prof. KAPADIA's present attempt to give us a history of the Jaina Canonical literature is a laudable achievement in the present stage of our knowledge of this field. The words of Dr. Barnett with which the volume is closed by Prof. KAPADIA still retain their value for future historians of Jaina literature and hence may be recorded here :—"Some day when the whole of the Jaina Scriptures will have been critically edited and their contents lexically tabulated, together with their ancient glosses, they will throw many lights on the dark places of ancient and modern Indian languages and literature."

P. K. CODE

Humāyūn Bādshāh, Vol. II, By S. K. BANERJI, M.A., L.T., PH.D., Reader in Indian History, University of Lucknow; Maxwell Company, Lucknow, 1941. Pp. xvi + 444. Price Rs. 8.

The first volume of this work was published by Dr. BANERJI in 1938. The present volume like the first is based on contemporary sources and deals with Humāyūn's administration, campaigns and travels between A.D. 1540 and 1556. During this period he appears not as a ruler of territory but as a fugitive fleeing through Punjab, Sind, Rājputana and Qandhār to Iran and then returning to Delhi and Agra in A.D. 1555 only to die, of an accident on 28th January, 1556. The volume is divided into 20 chapters, out of which the first fifteen describe the political career of Humāyūn while the remaining five discuss general topics like the prominent women of Humāyūn's time, Bābur's family and the accomplishments of his sons, Prince Akbar under Humāyūn's tutelage, institutions and monuments of Humāyūn's time, as also the kingship, the nobility and the people of his time. According to the author's estimate of Humāyūn he was superior to his brothers both in private and public virtues but was unfit to act as a bold leader and failed to initiate far-reaching reforms. He showed a unique tolerance towards his non-Muslim subjects and possessed a cultured outlook with high poetic talents. He placed humanism on a high pedestal. In spite of his many failures he is an interesting figure in the realm of politics, religion and social history.

The two volumes of the exhaustive and definite history of the gifted but unfortunate Mughal emperor now completed by Dr. BANERJI after years of labour will be found very useful to the research students. Unfortunately Sir DENISON ROSS who wrote an introduction to the first volume in 1937 has not lived to see the completion of a work started under his supervision and affectionate guidance! We are, however, happy to note that his pupil has fully justified the confidence of his guru by completing ably a task requiring a close knowledge of varied contemporary sources.

P. K. CODE

Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki (in its North-Western Recension), *Sundarakāṇḍa*. Critically edited for the first time from original MSS. and supplied with an Introduction by Prof. Vishva-Bandhu SHASTRI, M.A., Director, Research Department, D. A. V. College, Lahore (D. A. V. College Sanskrit Series, No. 18), 1940. Pp. 106+648. Price Rs. 7-8-0. Size :—6½"×9½".

We have had an occasion to refer to the good work done by the Research Department of the D A. V. College, Lahore during the last twenty-five years. The critical edition of the North-Western Recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a major undertaking of this Department and the volume before us, which is Vol. V of this well-planned edition augurs a successful completion of the work through peace and war. A search for MSS. of the different Kāṇḍas of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from the North-

Western part of India was commenced in 1921 and about 200 codices were collected in a couple of years. With the gradual progress of the work about a dozen MSS. were selected by the editors and utilized in the critical edition of each separate *kāṇḍa*.

Four fascicules of the *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa* were issued during 1923-24 and the *kāṇḍa* was completed in 1927-28 under the editorship of Pt. Ram LABHAYA, M.A. Thereafter complete *kāṇḍas* were issued, the *Bālakāṇḍa* appearing in 1931 and the *Āraṇya-kāṇḍa* in 1935 under the editorship of Pt. BHAGAVADATTA, B.A. and Professor Vishva-Bandhu SHASTRI, M.A. respectively. Prof. SHASTRI brought out the *Kishkindhā-kāṇḍa*, in 1936 and the *Sundara-kāṇḍa* in 1940.

In his elaborate Introduction to the edition of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* before us Prof. SHASTRI indicates the special reasons which necessitated this Introduction of 106 pages to the present volume and the consequent exclusion of the bulky section of Appendices, which formed a speciality of the previous volumes, particularly of Vols. II to V. This section covered about 100 pages in each volume and is subdivided under the following heads :—(1) Personal names, (2) Names of countries, (3) Names of towns, (4) Names of mountains, (5) Names of forests, (6) Names of rivers, (7) Names of plants, (8) Names of war-materials, (9) General Word Index, (10) List of figures, (11) List of metrical vagaries, (12) List of grammatical vagaries, (13) Anthology of wise sayings etc. Vol. VI of this edition is now in the press and will be out before long. All preliminary work of Vol. VII has now been completed and the volume is expected to appear in 1944. Vol. VIII containing the Appendix section mentioned above will be taken up thereafter as it relates to the entire text of this critical edition. The Department has so far spent over a lac of rupees on this national undertaking and we feel confident that the necessary funds will be forthcoming from all patrons of learning for the completion of this creditable task on which Prof. SHASTRI and his co-workers, not to say the authorities of the D. A. V. College, have set their heart.

Textual criticism has now come to stay in India. The methods of textual criticism current in the West for long are now being evolved by Indian scholars to meet the special needs of Indian manuscript material. In fact Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, the General Editor of the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*, work on which was commenced by the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute in 1919 has now made it a fine art and we are happy to find that the lead given by him in this branch of Indology is exerting a healthy influence on Indian scholarship of the present generation. A critical edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* based on the entire existing manuscript material and incorporating all recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* may still be considered a desideratum and the work of Prof. SHASTRI and his colleagues cannot but facilitate such a comprehensive project, accomplished as it is with devotion, scientific method and critical scholarship,—qualities quite unknown to numerous old editions of Indian texts. In this connection we recommend to the younger generation of scholars a careful perusal of a recent book on *Indian Textual Criticism* by Dr. S. M. KATRE. May we hope that this guide to textual criticism will prevent much waste of unscientific labour on the part of enthusiastic editors in the years to come?

P. K. GODE

Pant Amātya Bāvaḍā Daṭṭar, Vol. I, Pages (4+2+218+7) Price Rs. 2, Gagan Bavada 1937; Vol. II, Pages (5+366+10); 1938, Price Re. 1-8-0; Edited by K. G. SARNIS, B.A., Karbhari, Bavada Jahagir, Gagan Bavada via Kolhapur.

• The late Mr. V. K. Rajawade, the *Mahārāṣṭra* historian, emphasized during his life-time the importance of the collection, preservation and publication of the

sources of the Maratha history and himself led the way in this line by publishing these *Sources* in several volumes in spite of the financial difficulties in his way. Rajawade's message has gone home to the princes and people of the Mahārāṣṭra and there is now a good awakening in his homeland with regard to the importance of old documents and the need for their publication. The Bhārata Itihāsa Samshodhak Mandal, Poona, has been carrying on the good work started by Rajawade and for the last decade or so the Rajawade Samshodhak Mandir of Dhulia founded in memory of the great historian is following suit. The Government of Bombay has also partially realized its responsibilities in this matter by the publication of the *Peshwa Daftar Selections* edited by another veteran historian Rao Bahadur G. S. SARDESAI. Some of our States like Baroda, Gwalior and Indore have also brought out some volumes of the selections from their valuable records and the two volumes of the Pant Amātya Bāvaḍā Records before us so nicely edited by Rao Saheb K. G. SARNIS, the energetic and learned Kārbhāri of the Bavada Jahāgir are a further continuation of the good work in the cause of the Maratha history so far achieved by the Government, the princes and the people of the Mahārāṣṭra.

Owing to the ravages of time and other causes all contemporary sources of ancient Indian history have not come down to us and consequently the sealed doors of Indian history cannot be opened in spite of the continuous knocks of the researchers. What we have so far seen and recorded is only a partial glimpse of the life of our forefathers obtained through the eye-holes in these doors provided by the old documents and other records. It should be our business to keep these eye-holes permanently open so that future researchers may satisfy themselves as regards the accuracy of our observations made through these eye-holes of history. The publication of every new source of Indian history is, therefore, most welcome to researchers in this field.

Vol. I of the Bavada Record before us contains in all 97 documents dating from A.D. 1660 to 1715, a period of great political unrest in the Mahārāṣṭra. Document No. 97 is the celebrated *Ājñāpatra* of Rāmacandra Pant containing the principles of Maratha polity, the cynosure of all historical eyes since it was first brought to light by the historian Rajawade. The method of giving a brief gist of each document in English adopted in these volumes is highly commendable as sources of Indian history are the common heritage of the people of the whole of India if not of all research scholars of the world who are entitled to know at least the purport of these sources and their chronology. Vol. II of the Bavada Record contains documents from No. 98 to No. 201 dating from A.D. 1716 to 1748. Each volume contains a carefully prepared Index of Places and Persons. This feature together with the chronological arrangement of the documents will facilitate a closer study of the sources published in these volumes.

The Pant Amātya of Bavada comes of a family which has played an important part in the Maratha history. Rāmacandra Nilakanṭha, the illustrious member of the family was a towering personality of the reigns of no less than four Chatrapatis, Shivaji, Sambhaji, Rajaram and Shahu. His loyalty, sagacity, foresight, courage and above all patriotism stand unequalled in the history of the period. The records of the Amātya family are, therefore, most valuable not only for the reconstruction of the authentic history of the Bavada Jahāgir but also for enriching our knowledge of the early period of the Maratha history say between A.D. 1650 and 1720. We must, therefore, congratulate the present Pant Amātya of Bavada for the publication of the two volumes before us, so carefully and conscientiously edited by Rao Saheb K. G. SARNIS with the sole aim of furthering the cause of the Maratha history.

P. K. CODE

Rājadharmā (Diwan Bahadur K. Krishnarao Lectures, University of Madras) By Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami AIYANGAR, M.A., Honorary Professor of Economics, Benares Hindu University; the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras, 1941. Pp. xxv+236. Size :—5½"×8½". Price Rs. 3-8-0.

The pioneer works of Rao Bahadur Prof. K. V. Rangaswami AIYANGAR on Ancient Indian Polity and Economic Thought are well known to the students of Hindu Social institutions. They are marked by a deep study of the first-hand sources and a rare clarity of judgment in the interpretation of these sources. Unlike some of our lawyers Prof. AIYANGAR possesses in a remarkable degree the capacity to elucidate abstruse points in his studies, which makes his writing readable and gives them a delightful flavour, which is generally absent in scholarly productions. Perhaps his wide contact with men and affairs is responsible for this happy trait of his style.

In spite of a busy official life Prof. AIYANGAR has continued his interest in Oriental studies intact. His edition of the *Vyavahāramāyana*, an important South Indian Law Digest will be shortly released by the Adyar Library in their Series. He is also preparing for this Series an edition of the *Keśava-Vaiyanti* which is a famous commentary on the *Viṣṇu Smṛiti*. He has also completed for the Gaikwad Oriental Series a reconstruction of the law book of *Bṛhaspati* after many years of investigation. We are also promised in this Series an edition of the *Kṛtya Kalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara under his editorship. These are onerous undertakings but Prof. AIYANGAR is working on them with his usual vivacity and vigour in spite of the completion of three score years of his life recently commemorated by a special volume in his honour.

In the volume before us are two lectures on *Rājadharmā* delivered by Prof. AIYANGAR before the University of Madras in 1937. They are a sort of prolegomena to *Dharmaśāstra* in which the interpretations and canonical validity of both *Arthaśāstra* and *Dharmaśāstra* are explained and elucidated. As the ultimate responsibility of all decisions was laid on the King or the State *Dharmaśāstra* in its comprehensive sense became the law of the country and as it was the King who enforced its rules it became *Rājadharmā*. The aim of the present lectures is to evoke and stimulate interest in a branch of study which was regarded for ages as of paramount importance for the upkeep of social order. In stimulating such interest Prof. AIYANGAR has also demonstrated the philosophic background of Hindu life and thought with a view to a correct perception of the *Rājadharmā* and the scope of its operation.

The lectures proper in the present volume occupy 64 pages while the *Notes* comprise 152 pages. The Index at the end consists of about 20 pages. Though the lectures were meant for both the scholars and the general public their value is increased all the more with these *Notes* as mere synthesis without an analytical background out of which it has grown loses its force for scholarly minds. Prof. AIYANGAR has, therefore, done well in publishing these *Notes* which increase the value of the book and are bound to stimulate further study of the topics touched in them. We congratulate both the authorities of the Adyar Library and Prof. AIYANGAR for giving us this thought-provoking volume of lectures on *Rājadharmā*, which is the epitome of the Professor's mature learning and exact erudition in a field of Indology which still awaits critical study of the present type.

Wayfarer and Way-faring. Wayfarer's Words. By Mrs. Rhys DAVIDS, D.LITT., M.A.
Pp. 371, Vol. I. Luzac and Co., London, 1940. Price 3sh., Cloth 4sh.

Mrs. Rhys DAVIDS is too well known to the world of philosophic thought and criticism to need any special introduction and in the course of a brief preface to the volume under notice, she observes that many of her "sporadic writings", articles and comments seemed to her helpful to the mission in her manuals and essays if presented collectively. She therefore decided to bring them together in volumes. These letters and comments, in her view, tell "how the religion which we now call Buddhism was different at first from what it is now" and secondly, "how man's more-will in his wayfaring is not yet taught as it needs to be". There are *thirty* items printed in the first volume under notice. Within the obvious limits of this notice, it is not possible to do any adequate justice to the detailed and exhaustive vindication of "original Buddhism" vigorously undertaken by Mrs. Rhys DAVIDS, but, attention may be drawn to some contributions of outstanding significance. "I a traveller : you a traveller : let us wayfare with one another as such" would be seen to be the conclusion of the opening discussion first published in "Buddhism in England". I would invite especial attention to the contribution entitled "Buddhism not originally a negative gospel" (P. 308). In another contribution, she discusses the *vexata questio*—Was original Buddhism Atheistic? (P. 321)

While students of Indian thought in general and of Buddhism in particular will be grateful to Mrs. Rhys DAVIDS for her vigorous vindication of original Buddhism as she terms it, it would be absolutely impossible to dismiss such persistent problems of philosophy as — why did later Buddhism fall (for such indeed its latter-day evolution is believed to be) from the exalted status originally reached? To put the question differently, was the later Buddhism represented by the Kārikās of Nāgārjuna which undoubtedly preach a negative gospel and reveal atheistic tendencies something like *erratic or emergent* evolution? Or, may it not be that negativistic and atheistic tendencies were lying latent in the original Buddhism itself, and that they were worked out in the subsequent age explicitly and pronouncedly by leaders and masters of religious and philosophic thought? Not merely this. There is the further persistent problem. All Vedantists, Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Śrīkaṇṭha to mention some striking few have unreservedly and uncompromisingly repudiated the tenets of Buddhism in the course of their commentaries on the celebrated second quarter of the second chapter of the *Vedānta-Sūtras* (Avirodha-adhyāya) of Bādarāyaṇa. Would these masters of thought have been so unbalanced and prejudiced as not to see the elements of value in Buddhism before they embarked on uncompromising denunciation of Buddhism? These two persistent problems branch off into a third one pushed into the focus of philosophical controversy by the attitude of Madhva who endeavoured and sought to establish a downright equation between *Buddhism and Advaitism* in his work "*Tattvodyota*" and elsewhere. All these three problems deserve the utmost critical discussion in a calm and dispassionate philosophical environment. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, whom Mrs. Rhys DAVIDS quotes sometimes approvingly, has definitely and categorically pointed out towards the end of his first volume on "Indian Philosophy" that there is very little difference between the nihilism of Nāgārjuna and the advaitism of Śaṅkara. Be that as it may, I would like to pose a frank question—Were the Vedāntic teachers ignorant of Pāli texts which enshrine original Buddhism? Are the elements of value in original Buddhism regarding the Way, Wayfarer, and Wayfaring now incessantly harped on by Mrs. Rhys DAVIDS so subtle and difficult of comprehension after all as to have eluded the grasp of those masterminds? Or again, did the teachers of Vedānta deliberately misrepresent Buddhism simply because, they had other deeper motives to discredit it? If so those motives must be exposed and psycho-analytically shown to have patterned

their denunciation of Buddhism. It is an absolute pity that none of these tasks would appear to have been as yet undertaken by writers Indian and European on "Indian Philosophy". I, at any rate, find it impossible to believe that the Vedāntic teachers of the intellectual and critical calibre and divine inspiration of the type of Saṅkara were unable to find and appreciate the elements of value in "original Buddhism" as Mrs. Rhys DAVIDS puts it. In any philosophic debate or controversy it may not be difficult or impossible to maintain that the so-called "original Buddhism" at the acme of its ethical, moral, and spiritual development still leaves a great deal to be desired, and, that Buddhism therefore, was not accepted by the Indian intelligentsia. Thus, a rational dissatisfaction with Buddhism original and later must have been responsible for the prominence reached by the Vedānta. None of these comments would however affect in any manner the general excellence of the work of Mrs. Rhys DAVIDS. Hers has been throughout a dedicated life. May the Lord Buddha crown her wayfaring through worlds with a realization of the MOST. Her collected papers and discussions are a veritable philosophical treat. No Indian writer has yet equalled her—not European. Who can excel her?

R. N. R. SARMA

VISHNU SITARAM SUKTHANKAR

4th May 1887

21st January 1943

It is a matter of deep regret to the Editors of the *New Indian Antiquary* to have to announce the death of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR on the evening of Thursday the 21st January 1943, in the Sassoon Hospital at Poona, after a brief illness lasting only a few hours. It was the privilege of the Editors to have been associated with him so long in all the literary and scholarly enterprises initiated and organised by them that in him they lose not only a great personal friend but a close collaborator and an inspiring personality. One of the Editors has been associated with him each day of the week for more than seventeen years, while the other came into very close personal touch, sharing common ideas and work, for more than seven years; and this has greatly added to the burden of the sorrow which the death of a scholar, at the very height of his powers and with a fairly long life before him, must inevitably bring in its wake.

Dr. SUKTHANKAR was enjoying the very best of health until the last day of his life, and when the cruel hand of death snatched him away, he was actually in the midst of the typescript of his four lectures on the three-dimensional view of the *Mahābhārata* which he was delivering before the University of Bombay to a crowded but learned audience each Friday. The only previous illness from which he suffered was in 1918 when the great Influenza Epidemic swept over the province of Bombay. Robust in health, cheerful under all circumstances, modest to a fault, but withal devoted to the study of the Great Epic of India with a singleness of purpose and a mastery of critical methods which have evoked the greatest admiration from distinguished scholars all over the world, Dr. SUKTHANKAR was the spiritual descendant of the great Sir Ramakrishna Gopal BHANDARKAR, and the main scholarly pillar of the Institute which bears his name. The critical edition of the Great Epic not only brought him fame, but also gave an international status to Indian scholarship in general and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in particular. It was fitting, therefore, that the American Oriental Society should elect him an Honorary Member in 1937, the second Indian to be so honoured. By his sudden departure from this world, Dr. SUKTHANKAR has left his work on the Great Epic half finished, and cast a deep gloom over all research circles in the country. By his unique scholarship and objective treatment of his material, by his unrivalled methodology and accurate execution, he has made the task of his successors most difficult.

It is particularly sad that his end came within 17 days of the celebration

of the Silver Jubilee of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,¹ just after 17 years of his devoted study of the Great Epic. One wonders if the 18th year, like the 18th day of the Great Battle, put an end to the unceasing battle he was waging for the completion of the critical edition which, starting first as an international enterprise, became realizable in India through the heroic efforts of the then young Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, and may once again become international after his death.² It is a severe blow to this Institute, and an irreparable loss to the nation.

The number of meetings held in his honour in and outside Poona are numerous, and it is understood that some memorial to commemorate his great scholarship and national contribution is under consideration. The Editors of this journal have been requested by the heirs of the late Professor to edit a special Memorial Edition of his published writings and to compile his literary biography and organize a representative Committee to bring the scheme into speedy execution, before the first anniversary of his death. Details of this will be published in the next issue of the *Antiquary*. In view of this, the Editors have refrained from adding a short sketch of his life here. It is also understood that the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute in Poona, with which the late Professor was intimately connected in several capacities, as Member of the Reorganisation Committee, of the First Council of Management and of the Committee of Direction, is bringing out the fifth volume of its *Bulletin* as a Memorial Volume in his honour on the first anniversary of his death on 21st January 1944.

The cause of Dr. SUKTHANKAR's death is understood to be thrombosis which resulted, on the afternoon of Thursday the 21st January 1943, in right-sided paralysis. He was quite hale and hearty on that morning, but at about 10 A.M. he sweated profusely and felt uncertain about himself being able to express clearly his thoughts and ideas. At this time he was busy revising the typescript of his third lecture, to be delivered before the University of Bombay on the next day. Immediate medical aid was called in, and one of the Editors had the privilege of attending to him at this time; but in spite of the best possible aid, the stroke came in at about 1 P.M. whereafter he was completely unconscious. He was immediately removed to the Sassoon Hospital, but despite every care and attention, in the presence of the Editors of this journal and the Honorary Secretary of the Bhandarkar Institute, he passed away quietly, peacefully, to his eternal rest. Even his most intimate friends and colleagues were not aware of his sudden illness that evening, and those who had come to see him in the Hospital, had no idea or indication of the impending loss. The body was removed to the Nizam Guest House of

1. See pp. 235-40 of the January issue.

2. Cf. the Critical Edition of the *Sabhāparvan*, edited by Prof. Franklin EDGERTON of Yale University, U. S. A.

the Institute that night where it lay in state, and on the following morning, in the presence of friends, admirers and relatives, the last honours were done to it on the right bank of the Muṭhā near Omkāreśvar. Thus passed away, quietly and suddenly, a great personality who shed light on the Institute while living, and in death, united all the research bodies in the country for the single purpose of upholding the great tradition which he inherited from Sir Ramakrishna and now passes on to his many friends, disciples and admirers, with the solemn understanding that the sacred trust is not betrayed. Personally Dr. SUKTHANKAR himself would have considered his untimely death as a far less tragedy than the stopping of his great work in the history of critical scholarship in India, and it behoves every one concerned to exert his best to see that the splendid record which he established at the Institute by 17 years of brilliant, sustained work shall not be left to mould or be spoiled by uncritical handling. The responsibilities on those left behind are stupendous, but we hope and pray that they will rise to the occasion and do what is the right thing to be done, and in a sense complete the 'rites' which will truly lead the spirit of the departed scholar to its eternal abode of peace and beatitude.

DIFFERENT AUTHORSHIP OF THE KĀRIKĀGRANTHA AND THE VṚTTIGRANTHA OF DHVANYĀLŌKA

By

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The question of the identicalness or otherwise of the authorship of the Kārikā portion and the Vṛtti portion of the *Dhvanyālōka* is a long-disputed one. Dr. BÜHLER first drew attention to the distinction made between the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra and also the use of the term Vṛttigrantha in contradistinction to the Kārikā in the *Lōcana*.¹ On the basis of certain evidences furnished by *Lōcana*, JACOBI put forward the suggestion that the author of the Kārikās should be different from Ānandavardhana who is ascertained to be the author of the Vṛtti.² Dr. KEITH also agrees with the above view.³ Dr. S. K. DE who believes that the authors of the Kārikās and the Vṛtti are different, accounts for the references to Ānandavardhana by the name of Dhvanikāra, as a result of the Kārikākāra's name being thrown into the background with the rising into prominence of Ānandavardhana who built up, so to speak, a complete system of poetics through his classical Vṛtti.⁴ Prof. P. V. KANE, noticing the conflict of views between the *Lōcana* on the one hand and Pratihārēndurāja, Mahimabhaṭṭa and Kṣēmendra on the other, states that he feels inclined to hold (though with hesitation) that the *Lōcana* is right and that Pratihārēndurāja and others had not the correct tradition before them.⁵ Taking his stand on some expressed statements of Ānanda and Abhinava together with literary tradition, Dr. Sankaran has attempted to prove that the author of the Dhvanikārikās is none other than Ānandavardhana.⁶ Professor Sivaprasadabhattacarya, protesting against Dr. Sankaran's conclusions, evinces his partiality towards the dual authorship.⁷ The theory of different authorship of Kārikās and Vṛtti is argued to be untenable by Dr. K. C. PANDEY who advances certain points in refutation of the opinion of the scholars who hold the opposite view.⁸ In this paper it is proposed to show, on the strength of internal evidences, that the authors of the *Kārikāgrantha* and the *Vṛttigrantha* are different.

A close examination of the Kārikās of the *Dhvanyālōka* will make it clear

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1. *Kashmir Report*, p. 65.
 2. *ZDMG.*, Vol. 56 (1902) pp. 405-10.
 3. KEITH, *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 135.
 4. S. K. DE, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, pp. 108 and 109.
 5. P. V. KANE, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, pp. LIX-LXIII.
 6. *The Theories of Rasa and Dhvani*, pp. 50-60.
 7. Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth All India Oriental Conference, pp. 613-22.
 8. *Abhinavagupta*, an Historical and Philosophical study, pp. 132-38.

that they have a completeness of their own and are characterised by a proper sequence as well as a continuity of the topics dealt with. But the mutual connections of the Kārikās will be found to be more or less marred by certain introductions and conclusions given in the Vṛttigrantha, the observations made therein sometimes even going against the spirit of the Kārikās concerned.

The following are some of the instances where the Vṛttigrantha shows considerable deviations from the Kārikāgrantha :—

The Kārikā

‘सरस्वती स्वादु तदर्थवस्तु निःस्पन्दमाना महतां कवीनाम् ।

अलोकसामान्यमभिव्यक्तिं परिस्फुरन्तं प्रतिभाविशेषम् ॥⁹’

appears to be designed to point to the Lakṣya of Pratīyamānārtha and its superiority over Vācyārtha. The Lakṣyas are to be met with in the words of great poets ; the importance of Pratīyamānārtha could be known from the fact that words yielding the same are of a highly distinguished character and that the peculiar poetic talent of a supermundane nature gleams forth only when there is to be found in words Pratīyamānārtha. The Vṛttigrantha, however, goes a great way from the purpose of the Kārikā when it deduces from it a conclusion to the effect ‘येनास्मिन्नतिविचित्रकविपरम्पराबाहिनि संसारे कलिदासप्रभृतयो द्विजाः पंचषा वा महाकवय इति गण्यन्ते ।’¹⁰ which more emphasises the rarity of great poets than the Lakṣyabhūyastva of Pratīyamānārtha mainly intended to be pointed out.

The introduction ‘इदं चापरं प्रतीयमानस्यार्थस्य सद्भावसाधनं प्रमाणम्¹¹ ।’ given to the Kārikā

‘शब्दार्थशासनज्ञानमात्रेणैव न वेद्यते ।

वेद्यते स तु काव्यार्थतत्त्वज्ञैरेव केवलम्¹² ॥’

is obviously inappropriate. When once the existence of Pratīyamānārtha is recognised and its difference from Vācyārtha is established, the question that naturally arises is how it is perceived. The existence of Pratīyamānārtha as different from Vācyārtha was pointed out in the Kārikā

‘प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव वस्त्वस्ति वाणीषु महाकवीनाम् ।

यस्तत् प्रसिद्धावयवातिरिक्तं विभाति लावण्यमिवाङ्गनामु¹³ ॥’

Subsequently its pre-eminence in poetry was discussed in the Kārikā

‘काव्यास्यात्मा स एवार्थस्तथा चादिकवेः पुरा ।

कौचद्वन्द्ववियोगोत्थः शोकः श्लोकस्वमागतः¹⁴ ॥’

The same point together with the mention of Lakṣyabhūyastva formed the subject matter of the next Kārikā. To say that another proof in support of a topic which was already considered and left out is brought again at this juncture, is indeed tampering with the logical continuity of the Kārikāgrantha. The point under consideration is, as has been referred to, the cognizance of

9. *Dhvanyāloka*, (Kashi Sanskrit series 135), Uddyōtta 1, 6.

10. *Ibid.*, Uddyōtta I, p. 93.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

12. *Ibid.*, I, 7.

13. *Ibid.*, I, 4.

14. *Ibid.*, I, 5.

Pratīyamānārtha. What is aimed to be shown by the Kārikā is that the Pratīyamānārtha is perceived only by men of taste and not by those who are merely acquainted with the particularities of Vācya and Vācaka.

The propriety of the introduction given to the Kārikā

‘सोऽर्थस्तद्व्यक्तिसामर्थ्ययोगी शब्दश्च कश्चन ।

यत्नतः प्रत्यभिज्ञेयौ तौ शब्दार्थौ महाकवेः ॥’¹⁵

in the Vṛtti is also questionable. According to the Vṛtti what is discussed in the Kārikā is the pre-eminence of Vyāṅgyārtha. See ‘एतं वाच्यव्यतिरेकिणो व्यङ्ग्यस्य सद्भावं प्रतिपाद्य प्राधान्यं तस्यैवेति दर्शयति.’¹⁶ But the purpose of the Kārikā seems to indicate the fact that unlike in Vācakaśābdas and Vācyaārthas, an additional effort in the form of Kāvyaṭattvārthabhāvanā is essential for detecting the Vyāñjakāśābdas and the Vyāñjakārthas. The comments made in the Vṛtti lead us to believe that the idea of the Kārikā has been greatly misunderstood. ‘तद्व्यक्तिसामर्थ्ययोगी ।’ in the Kārikā is to be connected with both Arthaḥ and Śābdaḥ. The pronoun Tad in the compound has Pratīyamānārtha referred to in the previous Kārikās as its antecedent. It has to be noted that Vyāñjakatva exists both in the case of Śābda and Artha as is made clear in the Kārikā defining Dhvani.¹⁷

The order of the connection of words in the Pūrvārdha is ‘तद्व्यक्तिसामर्थ्ययोगी सोऽर्थः (सः) शब्दश्च कश्चन. The interpretation of the Pūrvārdha as given in the Vṛtti is ‘व्यङ्ग्योऽर्थस्तद्व्यक्तिसामर्थ्ययोगी शब्दश्च कश्चन न शब्दमात्रम्.’¹⁸ It will be seen here that the Vṛtti takes सोऽर्थः as referring to Vyāṅgyārtha and the word तद्व्यक्तिसामर्थ्ययोगी as being connected with the Śābda only. The Vēdana-prakāra of Vyāṅgyārtha has already been drawn attention to in ‘देशते स तु काव्यार्थतत्त्वज्ञैरेव केवलम्’.¹⁹ of the previous Kārikā. Therefore there is no necessity of discussing the Pratyabhiññeyatva of the Vyāṅgyārtha again. Further both Śābda and Artha being vyāñjakas, the mention of Tadvyaktisāmārthyayōgitva with reference to Śābda alone cannot be justified. The explanation of the Uttarārdha as ‘तावेव शब्दार्थौ महाकवेः प्रत्यभिज्ञेयौ, व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकाभ्यामेव सुप्रयुक्ताभ्यां महाकवित्वलाभो महाकवीनां, न वाच्यवाचकरचनामात्रेण.’²⁰ given in the Vṛtti is also farfetched. This would mean that the Uttarārdha is concerned with a consideration of Mahākavitvalābha of great poets. Such an inference certainly loses sight of the ‘Yatnataḥ Pratyabhiññeyatva’ of Vyāñjakāśābdas and Vyāñjakārthas desired to be pointed out in the Kārikā.

The observations given in the Vṛtti by way of introductions to the Kārikās and the inferences and conclusions drawn therein will be found, in the light of the above discussion, to diverge in several places far from the spirit and purpose of the Kārikās. Such a difference in outlook cannot happen if both the Kārikāgrantha and the Vṛttigrantha are the works of one and the same author. .

15. *Dhvanyālōka* (Kashi Sanskrit Series 135), Uddyōta 1, 8.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 96 and 97.

17. *Dhvanyālōka* (Kashi Sanskrit Series 135), Uddyōta 1, 13.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

19. *Ibid.*, I, 7.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 97 and 98

Another evidence for the non-identicalness of the authors of the *Kārikā-grantha* and the *Vṛttigrantha* is to be met with in the indecisive interpretations given to certain expressions of the *Kārikā*. The expression *प्रसिद्धावयवव्यतिरिक्तम्* occurring in the *Kārikā* *प्रतीयमान पुनरन्यदेव* etc.²¹ is explained as *प्रसिद्धेभ्योऽलङ्कृतेभ्यः प्रतीतेभ्यो वावयवेभ्यो व्यतिरिक्तत्वेन*.²² If the author of the *Kārikā* himself had written the *Vṛtti*, he would have surely been definite in his explanation. When we compare the *Kārikā* with 'तत्र वाच्यः प्रसिद्धो यः प्रकारैरूपमादिभिः'²³ it will be obvious that *Prasiddha* is used in no other sense than "Well-known."

Similarly in the initial *Kārikā* setting forth the three opposing views on *Dhvani* *केचिद्वाचां स्थितमविषये तत्त्वमूचुस्तदीयम्* 'referring to the school of thought which holds that *Dhvani* does not admit of being defined by words, is twisted in the *Vṛtti* and interpreted in favour of the *Dhvani* school as 'यदि पुनर्ध्वनेरतिशयोक्त्यानया काव्यान्तरातिशायि तैः स्वरूपमाख्यायते तत्तेऽपि युक्ताभिधायिन एव.'²⁴ This indeed is evading the question by a play upon words. The author who, at the outset, introduces the *Pūrvapakṣa* in all seriousness will never attempt to controvert the *Pūrvapakṣin's* point by reading a meaning favourable to him in the words quoted by him as representing the opposite view.

Another instance of double interpretation could be noticed in the *Vṛtti* under the *Kārikā*

‘समर्पकत्वं काव्यस्य यत्तु सर्वरसान् प्रति ।

स प्रसादो गुणो ज्ञेयः सर्वसासाधारणक्रियः.’ ॥²⁵

The *Prasādaguṇa* is mentioned to be *Sarvarasasādhāraṇa* and *Sarvaracanā-sādhāraṇa* in the *Vṛtti*. Cf. ‘प्रसादस्तु स्वच्छता शब्दार्थयोः । स च सर्वरसाधारणो गुणः सर्वरचनासाधारणश्च.’²⁶

What has been observed about *Prasādaguṇa* in the *Kārikā* is that it is *Sarvasādhāraṇakriyā*. It will be clear from the context that *Sarva* here means *Sarvarasas*. The idea is that while *Mādhurya* and *Ōjas* devote themselves to the *Kāvya*s depicting particular *Rasas*, *Prasāda* has recourse to *Kāvya*s containing any *Rasa*. When we read *सर्वरसान् प्रति* of the first half of the *Kārikā* with *सर्वसाधारणक्रियः* there will be no difficulty to see that *Sarva* has reference to nothing other than *Sarvarasa*. Since all *Guṇa*s depend on *Rasādi-rūpārtha*, *Prasāda* also will have to be conceived as being attached to *Rasas*. Hence the second explanation *सर्वरचनासाधारणः* for *सर्वसाधारणक्रियः* is out of place. Again the discussion beginning with ‘अत्र च विकल्प्य गुणानां सङ्घटननायायैक्यं व्यतिरेको वा व्यतिरेकेऽपि द्वयी गतिः. गुणाश्रया सङ्घटना, सङ्घटननाश्रया वा गुणा इति...’ under the *Kārikā* ‘गुणानाश्रय तिष्ठन्ती माधुर्यादीन् व्यनक्ति सा’ etc.²⁷ evinces an attempt on the part of the author of the *Vṛtti* to explain the *Kārikā* in such a way as to admit of different interpretations. Even of the alternative views, the acceptability or otherwise of one or the other has not been,

21. *Dhvanyāloka* (Kashi Sanskrit Series 135) Uddyōta 1, 4.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

23. *Ibid.*, I, 3.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 163 and 164.

25. *Dhvanyāloka* (Kashi Sanskrit Series 135) Uddyōta II, 10.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 310.

mentioned. This is clear from the conclusion 'तस्माद् गुणव्यतिरिक्तत्वे गुणरूपत्वे च सङ्घटनाया अन्यः कश्चिन्नियमहेतुर्वक्तव्य इत्युच्यते...' 28

If the commentary were written by the author of the Kārikās himself, interpretations of the kind lacking in definiteness have little chances of being found.

In commenting on the Kārikā portion 'रसस्य स्याद्विरोधाय वृत्त्यनौचित्यमेव च' 29 alternative interpretations are seen to be given to the word Vṛtti. Cf. 'तथा वृत्तेर्व्यवहारस्य यदनौचित्यं तदपि रसभङ्गहेतुरेव । यथा नायकं प्रति नायिकायाः कस्याश्चिद् उचितां भक्तिमन्तरेण स्वयं संभोगाभिलाषकथने । यदि वा वृत्तीनां भरतप्रसिद्धानां उपनागरिकाद्यानां वा यदनौचित्यम् अविषये निबन्धनं तदपि रसभङ्गहेतुः ।' 30

Here the Vṛttikāra is himself in a doubt as to what particular meaning the author of the Kārikā had in his mind for Vṛtti in the word वृत्त्यनौचित्यम्. It is quite impossible that the word Vṛtti was employed by the author of the Kārikā with a two-fold significance. When we view the Vṛttyanaucitya referred to in relation to the Kārikās

‘रसाद्यनुगुणत्वेन व्यवहारोऽर्थशब्दयोः ।

औचित्यवान् यस्ता एता वृत्तयो द्विविधाः स्थिताः ॥ 31

शब्दतत्त्वाश्रयः काश्चिदर्थतत्त्वयुजोऽपराः ।

वृत्तयोऽपि प्रकाशन्ते ज्ञातेऽस्मिन् काव्यलक्षणे ॥ 32

there will be no difficulty to see that what the Kārikākāra meant by the word Vṛtti must have been the propriety in the matter of employing Artha and Śabda in keeping with the nature of the Rasādis depicted.

There are certain portions in the Vṛttigrantha which call into question the correctness of views given expression to in the Kārikās, and which at the same time try to justify them in some way or other. In the third Uddyōta, the Vṛttigrantha sets aside the Padārthavākyaarthanyāya cited in the Kārikā

‘यथा पदार्थद्वारेण वाक्यार्थः सम्प्रतीयते ।

वाक्यार्थपूर्विका तद्वत् प्रतिपत्तस्य वस्तुनः ॥’ 33

in illustration of the relation between Vācya and Vyñgya. The Vṛttikāra is of opinion that it is Ghaṭapradīpānyāya that serves better to illustrate the relation. In this connection, he points out that it is really the relation of Ghaṭa and its Upādānakāraṇa that bears analogy to Vākyaarthapratīti and Padārthapratīti. Even at the time of Vyañgyarthapratīti, Vācya is capable of being perceived separately. Hence the analogy drawn between the Vācya and the Vyañgyārtha on the one hand and the Padārtha and Vākyaārtha on the other in the Kārikā is justified in the Vṛtti as being based on Upāyatva-śāmya alone. See, ‘न च पदार्थवाक्यार्थन्यायो वाच्यव्यङ्ग्ययोः.....यत्तु प्रथमोद्घोते ‘यथा पदार्थद्वारेण’ इत्याद्युक्तं तदुपायत्वमात्रात् साम्यविवक्षया.’ 34

In introducing the Bhāktatva of Dhvani alluded to in the portion भाक्त-माहुस्तमन्त्रे 35 the Vṛttigrantha has the observation ‘यद्यपि च ध्वनिशब्दसङ्कीर्तनेन काव्य-

28. *Dhvanyāloka* (Kashi Sanskrit Series 135) p. 318.

29. *Ibid.*, III, 19. 30. *Ibid.*, p. 364. 31. *Ibid.*, III, 33. 32. *Ibid.*, III, 47.

33. *Dhvanyāloka* (Kashi Sanskrit Series 135) Uddyōta I, 10.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 419 and 421.

35. *Ibid.*, Uddyōta I, 1.

लक्षणविधायिभिर्गुणवृत्तिरन्यो वा न कश्चित्प्रकारः प्रकाशितः, तथापि अमुख्यवृत्त्या काव्येषु व्यवहारं दर्शयता ध्वनिमार्गो मनाक्षुष्टोऽपि न लक्षित इति परिकल्प्यैवमुक्तम्— भाक्तमाहुस्तमन्ये इति.³⁶ Herein we find that the author of the Vṛtti is unable to give us the direct reference to the Bhāktatvavāda. Such a laboured explanation may be adduced as a proof in favour of the different authorship of the Kārikās and the Vṛtti.

Similarly the lines of the Vṛtti 'ध्वन्यङ्गता चोभाभ्यां प्रकाराभ्यां व्यङ्ग्यत्वेन व्यङ्ग्यत्वेन च । तत्रेह प्रकरणाद् व्यङ्ग्यत्वेनेत्यवगन्तव्यम्³⁷' which determine the nature of the Dhvanyāṅgatā intended on the strength of Prakaraṇa go undoubtedly to prove that the author of the Vṛtti is different from that of the Kārikā. It is quite unlikely that one will resort to Prakaraṇādis in determining the meanings of his own words.

The employment of terms in the Vṛttigrantha in senses other than the ones intended in the Kārikāgrantha together with the occurrence in the Vṛtti of terms unknown to the Kārikāgrantha as also terms explanatory and synonymous may perhaps be considered as another evidence in support of the theory of different authorship. The term Dhvani will always be found to be used in the Kārikāgrantha only in the sense of a Kāvyaaprakāra forming the first and the foremost of the three types of Kāvya. This will be clear from the Kārikās 'यत्रार्थः शब्दो वा etc.³⁸ defining Dhvani,

प्रकारोऽन्यो गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यः काव्यस्य दृश्यते ।

यत्र व्यङ्ग्यान्वये वाच्यचारुत्वं स्यात्प्रकर्षवत् ॥³⁹

and

प्रधानगुणभावाभ्यां व्यङ्ग्यस्यैवं व्यवस्थिते ।

काव्ये उभे ततोऽन्यद्यत्तच्चित्रमभिधीयते ॥⁴⁰

The Vṛttigrantha, however, appears to construe Dhvani in certain places as a factor in poetry. The fact that the author of the Kārikās has used the term only in the sense of a particular kind of Kāvya throughout the work makes it necessary for us to construe the word Ātmā in काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति of the first Kārikā as denoting Prakāraḥ. The Vṛttikāra deviates from the conception of Dhvani as a Kāvyaaprakāra when setting forth the different Pūrvapakṣas of the Abhāvavādins. Having considered the factors that go into the constitution of poetry from the standpoint of the Pūrvapakṣin, the Vṛttikāra raises the question 'तद्व्यतिरिक्तः कोऽयं ध्वनिर्नाम,⁴¹' Further in the verse,

'यस्मिन्नस्ति न वस्तु किञ्चन मनःप्रज्ञादि सारलङ्कृति

व्युत्पन्नै रचितं च नैव वचनैर्वकोक्तिद्वयं च यत् ।

काव्यं तद्ध्वनिना समन्वितमिति प्रीत्या प्रशंसन् जडो

नो विद्मोऽभिदधाति किं सुमतिना पृष्टः स्वरूपं ध्वनेः ॥⁴²

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 31 and 32.

37. *Dhvanyāloka* (Kashi Sanskrit Series 135) p. 278.

38. *Ibid.*, Uddyōta I, 13. 39. *Ibid.*, Uddyōta III, 34. 40. *Ibid.*, I, 41.

41. *Dhvanyāloka* (Kashi Sanskrit Series 135) Uddyōta p. 20.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 26 and 27.

quoted to show that the Abhāvavāda was one which had already gained ground, the portion काव्यम् तद्ध्वनिना समन्वितम् distinctly points to the possibility of Dhvani having been conceived as a factor in poetry. If the Vṛttikāra had considered Dhvani only as a Kāvyaaprakāra, he would not have placed before us an Abhāvavāda of the kind.

Again from a close study of the Kārikās, we will be able to see that the words विवक्षितान्यपरवाच्य and लक्षणा are nowhere used in the Kārikās while the same occur in the Vṛttigrantha. See 'स चासाविवक्षितवाच्यो विवक्षितन्यपरधेति द्विविधः सामान्येन⁴³ and विगुणवृत्तिस्तूपचारेण लक्षणया चोभयाश्रयापि भवति'. It may be noted that the corresponding terms in the Kārikāgrantha are विवक्षिताभिधेय and Guṇavṛtti.

That the distinction between Kārikākāra and Vṛttikāra occasionally made by Abhinava in his Dhvanyālōkalōcana cannot be put forward as an evidence indicating difference in point of the authorship of the works, has been made clear by Dr. Sankaran who draws attention to certain lines from Abhinavabhārati of Abhinavagupta wherein Ānandavardhana has been explicitly referred to as the author of certain Kārikās of Dhvanyālōka.⁴⁵

Furthermore, the fact that the Lōcanakāra is of opinion that the Kārikās and the Vṛtti are the works of the same author is unmistakably evidenced from the portion of the Lōcana explaining the significance of the word इति occurring in

इत्यङ्गिरसाश्रयोचितगुणालंकारशोभाभृतो
यस्माद्वस्तु समीहितं युक्तिभिः सर्वं समासाद्यते ।
काव्यारव्येऽखिलसौख्यधाम्नि विबुधोद्याने ध्वनिर्दर्शितः
सोऽयं कल्पतरूपमानमहिमा भोग्योऽस्तु भव्यात्मनाम् ॥ 46

one of the two concluding verses of the Vṛtti text. The line runs as इतीति. कारिकातद्बुत्तिनिरूपणप्रकारेणेत्यर्थः.⁴⁷ It may be noted that इति in the verse is to be connected with ध्वनिर्दर्शितः Cf. Bālapriyā

‘इत्यङ्गिरस्यादिश्लोकस्यस्येतिपदस्य विवरणं कारिकेत्यादि । कारिका च तद्बुत्तिश्च ताभ्यां यन्निरूपणं तत्प्रकारेणेत्यर्थः अस्य ध्वनिर्दर्शित इत्यनेन सबन्धः’.⁴⁸

From this we can easily see that the Lōcanakāra entertains the view that the same author Ānandavardhana has exposed Dhvani giving tangible expression to his investigations through the Kārikās and the Vṛtti portions relating the same. In the light of Abhinavagupta's own statements indicating the sameness of authorship, the two words Kārikākṛt and Vṛttikṛt employed by him in the Lōcana has to be explained as a result of his viewing the author for purposes of elucidation and reconciling the apparent discrepancies, in his two capacities as Kārikākṛt and Vṛttikṛt.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 136 and 137.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 423.

45. *The Theories of Rasa and Dhvani*, p. 51.

46. *Dhvanyālōka* (Kashi Sanskrit Series 135) pp. 551 and 552.

47. See *Lōcana* in Kashi Sanskrit Series Edition of Dhvanyālōka, p. 551.

48. See *Bālapriyā* in Kashi Sanskrit Series Edition of Dhvanyālōka, p. 551.




Thus there is no gainsaying that literary tradition down from Lōcanakāra favours the view that Ānandavardhana was the author of both the Kārikās and the Vṛtti. The very fact that Lōcanakāra comments not only on the Vṛtti but on the Kārikās as well, bears testimony to his knowledge of the text of Dhvanyālōka as consisting of both the Kārikā portion and the Vṛtti portion so closely welded together as to form part and parcel of one undivisible work. Whatever be the tradition, the internal evidences of the kind pointed out in the body of this paper must be admitted to go a considerable way in determining that the author of the Kārikās is different from the author of the Vṛtti.

MISCELLANEA

DR. CHAGHATAI AND "POONA IN THE MUSLIM PERIOD"

Recently a worker from the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics (Poona), drew my attention to a note on 'Poona in the Muslim period' by Dr. M. A. CHAGHATAI of the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute (Poona) which has appeared in its *Bulletin*. As a serious student of history, I naturally began to peruse it with much interest but could not finish it in the same mood. I often felt that there was something unusual and out of curiosity just tried to verify some of the statements in it. To my regret I found the following discrepancies. It should be noted that they occur in the part of the note concerned with the direct references about Poona and the foot-notes added to elucidate the same. Perhaps many more may come to light if the whole note is subjected to a rigorous scrutiny which of course will require more labour.

On page 408 of the 2nd volume of the above *Bulletin* Dr. CHAGHATAI, after remarking that no actual mention of Poona by name could be found so far (till 1009 A.H./1600 A.D.) and thinking that he had fortunately detected two such references in Akbarnāma (AN) and Āin-i-Akbarī (AA) summarises them thus: "On the 11th Mihr, 1007 A.H./1598 A.D. the fort of Puna was captured. It is one of the famous forts of Birar and is situated on a hill. It has a river on three sides which is never fordable. Under the Mughals from the days of Akbar the country was divided into districts or *sarkars*. The districts were also distributed among *parganas* or sub-divisions, *qaryats*, *mahals* and *talukas*. Accordingly the Āin-i-Akbarī furnishes a clear mention of Puna then in the *sarkar* Kallam. *Parganas* like Talegaon, Waigaon, Bela etc. are mentioned also in the same *sarkar*." To illustrate the point further, he has added a short foot-note on Kallam.¹

But nothing could possibly be more inaccurate than these statements, especially the identifications. On the proper name Pūna, the editor of the English transaction of AN has added a foot-note² that it is the same as Panār of the English translation of AA by Jarret (Vol. II, pp. 229, 233). The editor of the original text of AN records  and  as the two variants of Pūna.³ Whatever may be the exact pronunciation of the name, this identification seems to be correct; for the similar descriptions of Panār occurring twice in AA⁴ are found to be practically identical with the one given in AN. In AA Panār is stated to be the chief town of both a *pargana* and a *sarkar* of the same name in the *subah* of Berar and seems to be Pōhner of the Marathi documents or Pavnar of the survey map. It lies 5 miles to the north-east of Wardha, a district town in Berar, it has a fort and the river Dhām encircles it on three sides. Now in the text of AA  is given as a name of one of the 31 *parganas* that were included in the *sarkar* Kallam (Text Vol. I, p. 482). It has been spelt as Pūnah in the English translation of AA; but in the absence of diacritical marks in the text of AA, it can also be spelt as Pavnah. This seems to be the substitute for modern Pohnah of the maps, lies in the Wardha district and is situated not far from Kalamb

1. For detailed references vide Dr. CHAGHATAI's original note.

2. Vol. III, p. 1111.

3. Vol. III, p. 743, and n. 6.

4. Text Vol. I, pp. 477, 480.

5. Text Vol. I, p. 480; trans. Vol. II, p. 235.

and other pargana-towns in the same *sarkar*. Almost all of these pargana-towns lie in the Yeotmal and the adjoining districts in Berar and the Hyderabad state. Thus it will be clear that Panār, Pohner or Pavnār is different from Pawnah or Pohnah and that Pawnah, Kallam, Talegaon, Waigaon, Bela etc. have absolutely no connection with Poona, Talegaon, Wai, Bella and Kallam (a small village, four miles north of Manchar on the Poona-Manchar road). Poona was neither reputed for any hill-fort, nor was it ever encircled by any unfordable river on its three sides and was never a *sarkar*-town. It was only a *pargana*-town under the *sarkar* Junnar and *subah* Khujista-Buniyad Aurangābād when it came under the sway of Mughals. Dr. CHAGHATAI is certainly mistaken in connecting the mention of Pūna and other places in AN and AA with Poona and the places near Poona.

In line 27, page 407 and in line 11, page 409 of the same volume of the Bulletin occurs the place-name Dharwar. Not only the contexts at both the places show that Dhārūr in the Bīd district of the Hyderabad state is meant there, but the spelling of the name itself can suggest the same and in the Cambridge History of India the identification has been actually accepted. But Dr. CHAGHATAI would not like to have that way. He would take it as Dharwar implying thereby perhaps Dhār-wār in the Karnatak. But the latter has no possible connection with Dārūr or Dhārūd of the contexts.⁶

On page 409, Khān Zamān is stated to have been detained on the banks of Kharonadi, while rushing from Junnar to the banks of Ainda (Indrāyaṇī) near Lohgaon, in pursuit of Shahāji who was in the neighbourhood of Poona and Dr. CHAGHATAI adds a foot-note to the effect that this Kharonadi is the same as the Karha river which flows through Saswad and Baramati. Unfortunately the spelling in the original text of the Bādshāhnāma where occurs this river-name does not allow us to read it as Kharonadi; it must be read as Khornadi or Ghornadi⁷ and Ghōd which is the correct pronunciation of the first syllable of the name, is a river which every one has to cross while coming from Junnar to Indrāyaṇī near Lohgaon which is to the north-east of Poona. Karha is to the south-east of Poona and one cannot come to it unless one crosses the Indrāyaṇī. Thus the Karha river is not evidently meant here.

In foot-note 34a Hogiri and Rai Pak are given as the names of Randaula-khān's fiefs. These two names are taken from a ms. copy of Muḥammadnāma in the Bijapur Museum; but these can easily be read as Hūkēri and Raibāg and the places are at once identified.

B. I. S. Mandala, Poona.

G. H. KHARE

MORE ABOUT POONA IN THE MUSLIM PERIOD

In our present state of knowledge about historical geography of mediaeval India, there is every likelihood of wrongly identifying one place for another. But the main object of my note on 'Poona in the Muslim Period,' as should be clear to every one, has neither been to forge documents nor to force unintelligible interpretations, but to present the material in its original form. I have, therefore, tried to give one of the possible readings of the Persian text. I had in view in writing the article not to find how long ago Poona was in existence but to find out how long ago it existed historically in the Muslim Period. The line of research

6. *Buḥān-i-Ma'athir*, p. 444 and *Bādshāhnāma*, Vol. I. part I, p. 516.

7. *Bādshāhnāma*, Vol. I, part II, p. 225.

which I had chalked out for me was to work backwards from the days of Shivaji. While reading the *Akbarnāma* (AN) and the *Ain-i-Akbari* (AA) of Abu'l-Fazal, I was struck by the mention of a place, the spelling of which in Persian was exactly the same as that of the name of our city, and also by the fact that it could be pronounced exactly like the name of our city, Poona, or Poonah (GLADWIN's tr. A.A. p. 512). The fact supported by the circumstantial evidence that the province in which the Poona of the AA was located, also contained such places as Indori (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. III, p. 132), Amrauti (Ibid., 295), Ane (Ibid., 104), Belhe (Ibid., 109), Talegaon (Ibid. 449), Kallam (Ibid., 232), Bori (Ibid., Pt. II, pp. 446-7)—names which are undoubtedly met with in our own district of Poona, was enough to allure the reader's imagination to our own Poona. One of these, Kallam, apart from the one found in the Poona district, is also found in the Travancore state, in the Othmānābād district of Hyderabad Deccan, and in the Yeotmal district, etc., etc. I may also add that a peep into the dim past with the aid of those travellers who have visited the Deccan, or of the local inscriptions of the old Deccan Dynasties such as Rashtrakutas, is likely to open a new vista to the antiquity of our Poona, where a temple of Pūneshwar existed in the 13th century which was subsequently transformed into a mosque, at present known as the mosque of Shāikh Sallā (Shāikh Ṣalāhu'd-Dīn).

Poona

M. A. CHAGHATAI

ŚIVADĀSA'S JYOTIRNIBANDHA : THE WORK AND ITS DATE

The *Jyotirnibandha* or the *Jyotirnibandhasarvasva* as it is called in some of its colophons, is a big compendium not only of Jyautiṣa as its name indicates but of several allied subjects. The work has been very popular with astrologers, old-type almanac-makers and priestly Paṇḍitas as it readily furnishes their requirements in Astronomy, Astrology, Dharma, Tantra, etc. in the compass of a single volume. Its MSS, complete or only of a few sections¹ thereof, are mentioned in most of the published catalogues of Sanskrit MSS and it has also been printed² at least twice, the Poona edition³ being current at present.

The work is of an encyclopædic character. The author generally treats with the topics by citing older works and authors and states his own views mainly when a topic entails conflicting views. Hosts of authorities have been cited through and through. I have prepared the following list of works and authors cited in the *Jyotirnibandha* from the Poona edition :—

अगस्त्य, अङ्गिरस्, अत्रि, आचारसार, आचार्य, आदित्यपुराण, आदियामल, आयुर्वेदशास्त्र, आर्षिषेणि, उत्पल, उत्पलचार्थविवृति, उद्दालक, उपश्रुतिकृति, उमादेवेश्वरसंवाद, उमायामल, ऋष्यशस्त्र, कपर्दिका, कर्मप्रदीप, कल्पतरु, कश्यप, कश्यपपटल, कात्यायन, कात्यायनसूत्र, कात्यायनस्मृति, कामशास्त्र, कारिका, कारिकानिबन्ध, कार्णाजिनि, कालनिर्णय, कालविधान, कालविवेक, कालदर्श, कालार्णव,

1. E.g., Vide H. D. VELANKAR : *Catalogue of Sanskrita and Prākṛta MSS in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1926), Nos. 258 and 315.

2. *British Museum Catalogue of Sanskrit, Pālī and Prakrit Books*, Vol. 1893, p. 389 and Vol. 1928, p. 985. The former was a lithograph edition issued from Benares in 1878.

3. *Anandāsrama Sanskrit Series*, No. 85, 1919, edited by Raghunātha Śāstri VAIDYA.

कालोत्तर, काशीखण्ड, कूर्मपुराण, कूर्मयामल, कौमुदी, गरुडपुराण, गर्ग, गर्गसंहिता, गरुड, गार्ग्य, गृहकौमुदी, गृहसूत्र, गोमिल, ग्रहचन्द्रिका, ग्रहप्रदीप, चम्पूग्रन्थ⁴, चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि, चतुर्विंशतिमत्, चन्द्रिका, चिन्तामणि, चूडामणि, चूडारत्न, च्यवन, जयचर्या, जयभैरव, जयार्णव, जातक, जातक-तिलक, जातकसार, जातकोत्तम, जातूकपथ्य, जाबालि, ज्योतिर्नृसिंह, ज्योतिर्विवरण, ज्योतिर्विवेक, ज्योतिर्विन्तामणि, ज्योतिःशास्त्र, ज्योतिष, ज्योतिषार्णव, ज्योतिष्पराशर, ज्योतिष्प्रकाश, ज्योतिष्फलोद्घ, ज्योतिस्तत्त्व, ज्योतिःसंग्रह, ताजिक, ताजिकतिलक, ताजिकसार, तीर्थखण्ड, त्रैलोक्यप्रकाश, दक्ष, दानखण्ड, दीपक, दीपिका, देवल, देवीपुराण, दैवज्ञ, दैवज्ञवल्लभ, दोषविवेक, दोषापावाद, धर्मप्रदीप, नक्षत्रसमुच्चय, नरपतिजयचर्या, नागालेखसंहिता, नारद, नारदीय, निगमवाक्य, निबन्धसार, निर्णय-वचन, नीतिशास्त्र, नृसिंह, न्यायमीमांसा, पक्षाश्वमेधयात्रा, पटलसार, पद्धति, पद्मपुराण, पराशर, पराशरस्मृति, परिशिष्ट, पवनविजय, पितामह, पितृखण्ड, पीयूषतरङ्गिणी, पुराण, पुराणसार, पुष्कर, पृथुयष्टम्, पैतामहसिद्धान्त, पौलिश, पौलिशसिद्धान्त, पौलस्त्य, प्रचेतस्, प्रयोगपारिजात, प्रवर-प्रदीप, प्रवरमञ्जरी, प्रश्नप्रदीप, प्रश्नशास्त्र, प्रेतखण्ड, प्रेतमञ्जरी, फलप्रदीप, बादरायण, बादरायण-जातक, बुधवल्लभ, बृहज्जातक, बृहत्कालनिर्णय, बृहथात्रा, बृहभारद, बृहन्मनु, बृहन्मार्तण्ड, बृहस्पति, बृहस्पतिसंहिता, बौधायन, ब्रह्मसूत्र, ब्रह्मन्, ब्रह्मपुराण, ब्रह्मयामल, ब्रह्मर्षि, ब्रह्मर्षिसंहिता, ब्रह्मवैवर्त, ब्रह्मशम्भु, ब्रह्मसिद्धान्तभाष्य, ब्रह्माण्डपुराण, ब्राह्म, भगवत्, भट्टाचार्य⁵, भविष्य, भविष्यपुराण, भविष्यो-त्तर, भविष्योत्तरपुराण, भागुरि, भारत, भारद्वाज, भार्गव, भाष्यकार, भास्कर (quoted from the कात्यायनस्मृति), भास्कर, भास्करव्यवहार, भीम, भीमपराक्रम, भूपाल or भूपालवल्लभ, भृगु, भोजमार्तण्ड, मत्स्य, मत्स्यपुराण, मदनपारिजात, मदनमहार्णव, मनु, मनुस्मृति, मन्वर्थमुक्तावली, मरीचि, महाभागवतपुराण, महाभारत, महेश्वर, माठर, माण्डव्य, मात्स्य, माधव, माधवीय, मानवीयधर्मशास्त्र, मार्कण्डेय, मार्तण्ड, मिताक्षरा, मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि⁶, मुहूर्तचूडामणि⁶, मुहूर्तदर्पण, मूलसूत्र, मृगाङ्गजातक, मेङ्गनाथदैवज्ञ, मेघातिथि, मौजीपटल, यम, यवन, यवनजातक, यवनमत, यवनसंहिता, याज्ञवल्क्य, यात्राप्रदीप, यात्रारत्नावली, यात्राविधान, यात्राशिरोमणि, यात्रासार, युद्धार्णव, योगजातक, योगयात्रा, योगरहस्य, योगार्णव, रघुवंशमहाकाव्य, रत्नकोश, रत्नमाला, रत्नमालाटीका, रत्नावली, राजमार्तण्ड, रामकौतुक, स्त्रियामल, रेणुक, रोमश, रोमशसंहिता, लक्षणसमुच्चय, लघुजातक, लल्ल, लिङ्गपुराण, लीलावती, वराह, वराहपटल, वराहपुराण, वराहमिहिर, वसन्तराज, वसिष्ठ, वसिष्ठशिष्य, वाग्भट, वाजसनीय, वात्स्यायन, वायुपुराण, वाराही, वास्तुतन्त्र, वास्तुप्रदीप, वास्तुशास्त्र, विजयभैरव, विजयलता, विद्याविनोद, विद्वज्जनवल्लभ, विधिरेतल, विवाहदीपिका, विवाहपटल, विवाहवृन्दावन, विश्वकर्मन्, विश्वभरशास्त्र, विश्वरूप, विश्वरूपनिर्णय, विश्वामित्र, विश्वेश्वर, विष्णु, विष्णुधर्म, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर, विष्णुपुराण, विष्णुरहस्य, वृत्तशत, वृद्धगर्ग, वृद्धगार्ग्य, वृद्धनारद, वृद्धमनु,

4. “चम्पूग्रन्थे—उत्पल्लुगैरात्मपः क्रियते दुर्मुखैर्मुहुः। जानाति हि पुनः सम्यक् कविरेव कवेः श्रमम् ॥” — p. 349, footnote.

5. “न्यायमीमांसायां भट्टाचार्यैरुक्तं—तर्कोऽप्रतिष्ठः श्रुतयो विभिन्ना नासावृषिर्यस्य मतं न भिन्नम्। धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं गुहायां महाजनो येन गतः स पन्थाः ॥ etc.” p. 105.

6. Vide next paragraph for the spuriousness of citations from the *Mukhūrtācintāmaṇi* and the *Mukhūrtacūḍāmaṇi* which are at least a century later in date than the *Jyotirmibandha*.

7. “प्रतिकूलविधानं च—तत्पुस्तकं न दृश्यम्” p. 163. The editor is wrong when he thinks that “शान्तिकाकरे” is a mistake for “शान्तिमाला” for Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa's *Sāntikamālā* is much later in date and all old MSS of the *Jyotirmibandha* read शान्तिकाकरे.

बृहस्पत, बृहस्पतिष्ठ, बृहदशौनक, बृहदश्विन, वैशनाथ, व्यवहारतत्त्व, व्यवहारसार, व्यास, व्रतखण्ड, व्रतवाक्यसंग्रह, शकुनसंग्रह, शंख, शत्रुपराभव, शाकल्य, शाकल्यसंहिता, शातातप, शान्तिकाकर, शान्तिसागर, शार्ङ्गधर, शार्ङ्गपटल, शार्ङ्गविवाहपटल, शिरोमणि, शिल्पशास्त्र, शौनक, शौनकीयपटल, शौनकीयसूत्र, श्राद्धकल्प, श्रीधर, श्रीधराचार्य, श्रीधरीय, श्रीपति, श्रीभारत, षड्गुणविषय, संवत्, संहितादीपक, संहिताप्रदीप, संहितासार, संहितासारावली, संक्षिप्तजातक, संग्रह, संग्रहकार, सत्य, सत्यमत, सत्यसूरि, सनत्कुमार, सप्तर्षि, सप्तर्षिपटल, सप्तर्षिमत, सप्तशती, समरङ्गण, समरसिंह, सर्वज्ञनारायण, सहदेव, सहदेवमत, सांख्यायन, सायणीयकार, सारगवली, सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि, सिद्धान्तसार, सुरेश्वरवार्तिक, सूत्रकार, सूरि, सूर्यप्रदीप, सूर्यसिद्धान्त, सूर्योदय, सूर्योदय, सोमसिद्धान्त, सौरभाष्य, स्कन्दपुराण, स्कन्द, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृतिदर्पण, स्मृतिभास्कर, स्मृतिमहार्णव, स्मृतिरत्नावली, स्मृतिसंग्रह, स्मृतिसारसमुच्चय, स्मृतिसारावली, स्मृत्यर्थसार, स्वरशास्त्र, स्वरसार, स्वरोदय, हारीत, हारीतस्मृति, हेमाद्रि, होराप्रकाश, होराप्रदीप, होरामकरन्द, ह्यल्लुगिदेव

and some anonymous works and authors referred to as मतान्तर, अन्ये, अपरे, केचित् etc. Some of these names are such as have not been recorded in the three volumes of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

However, on a comparison with an undated but considerably old MS of the *Jyōtirṇibandha* recently acquired (Accession No. 6039) by the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, I find that a few of these citations are not authentic and original. Citations from the *Muhūrtacintāmaṇi*, the *Muhūrtacūḍāmaṇi*, *Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa* and the *Smṛtidarpaṇa*, for instance, are wholly absent in the MS. These passages were incorporated by the editor in the main body of the text, without a critical estimate thereof and in utter disregard of chronology in the case of the first two works (vide below), on the evidence of only one of the four MSS used by him. They may safely be regarded as later interpolations made by someone with a view to adding to the bulk and exhaustiveness of the work. Thus the above list which would otherwise be of immense use in deciding the chronology of several works and authors has to be used with caution.

Regarding our author we know little beyond his name which is given in a majority of MSS as Sivadhāsa and in a few MSS as Sivarāja. He does not mention any detail concerning himself, his parentage, etc. in his introduction :—

“वेदाद्यं यातमधेन्दुभाल्युग्विन्दु तत्पुनः ।

मायनत्यन्तमङ्गार्यं मनुयस्य नमामि तम् ॥ १ ॥

अभीष्टफलदो देवः सर्वज्ञः परमेश्वरः ।

आदधातु गणाध्यक्षः स्थितिं मनसि नः सदा ॥ २ ॥

तिथ्यादिकालावयवस्वरूपां जगत्प्रभृत्यादिकहेतुभूताम् ।

कालत्रयज्ञानविधायिनीं तां बन्देऽहमाशामिह शास्त्रदेवीम् ॥ ३ ॥

नारदः—ब्रह्माचार्यो वसिष्ठोऽग्निर्मेनुः पौलस्त्यरोमशौ ।

मरीचिरञ्जिरा व्यासो नारदः शौनको भृगुः ॥ ४ ॥

च्यवनो यवनो गर्गः कश्यपश्च पराशरः ।

अष्टादशैते गम्भीरा ज्योतिःशास्त्रप्रयोजकाः ॥ ५ ॥

बराहमिहिराचार्यः श्रीपतिः सत्यभास्करौ ।

सल्लः— सूरिर्ब्रह्मगुप्तो वैचनायक रेणुकः ॥ ६ ॥
 एषां शास्त्राणि संवीक्ष्य सारमादाय⁸ यत्नतः ।
 तदुक्तवचनैः कुर्वे फलग्रन्थं मनोरमम् ॥ ७ ॥
 यथैवारोपयत्येकं श्रेयोर्थी सद्ब्रह्मं पथि ।
 सत्स्वाराभेषु शास्त्रेषु तथैनां विद्धि मत्कृतिम् ॥ ८ ॥”

or in his conclusion :—

“ इति शूरमहाठश्रीशिवदासविनिर्मिते or o शिवराजविनिर्मिते ।
 ज्योतिर्निबन्धसर्वस्वे तिथ्यादीनां विनिर्णयः ॥
 ज्योतिर्निबन्धे न्यूनं यद्यस्तं च कथितं पुनः ।
 पूरितं तद्यथास्थाने व्यस्तं त्यक्तं च विष्णुना ॥
 जातकं स्वरशास्त्रं च प्रश्नाख्यानं यथा तथा ।
 लिखितं ग्रन्थविस्तारभयेनाज्ञानतो न हि ॥”

The colophons to major chapters, too, read इति शूरमहाठ⁹ etc. *Sūramahāṭha* was probably the surname of the author's family, but it gives us no definite clue to his community, locality, etc. The author once quotes⁹ a well-known stanza from the *Puruṣasūkta* and assigns it to the Vājasaneyi branch of *White Yajurveda* and not to *R̥gveda*. This may remotely suggest that he came of a Brahmana family belonging to that school of *White Yajurveda*. For want of evidence it is also difficult to identify him with any of his namesakes mentioned by Aufrecht¹⁰ and others as authors of various Sanskrit works.

The verse ज्योतिर्निबन्धे न्यूनं etc. of the conclusion may mean that the author Śivadāsa gives the credit of his achievement of preparing the present encyclopædic work to the Great God or that a scholar named Viṣṇu subsequently revised the work and made necessary additions and alterations therein.

The author, of course, does not mention his date anywhere in the work, but the same can be fixed within reasonable limits in the light of external evidence. The *Jyotiṣmābandha* has been quoted as a work of authority in Anantadeva's *Saṁskāra-kāṇṭastubha* (1645-75 A.C.),¹¹ in Nilakanṭhabhaṭṭa's *Suddhimayūkha* and *Saṁskāra-mayūkha* (1610-45 A.C.),¹² in Kamalākaraḥṭṭa's *Sudrakamalākara* and *Nirmaya-sindhu* (1612 A.C.)¹³ in Nārāyaṇa's com. *Mārtandavallabhā* (1573 A.C.)¹⁴ on his

8. The reading in a MS used by the editor is “० सारमाद्यं प्रवक्ष्यति । ग्रन्थं ज्योतिर्निबन्धाख्यं महाठः श्रीशिवोत्तपः ॥”. In this reading can be marked an attempt to paraphrase the name Śivarāja and to assign a royal status to the author. Much value, however, cannot be attached to this reading as it is not supported by any other MS.

9. “अथाह वाजसनीये—ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद्वाह् राजन्यः कृतः । ऊरु तदस्य यद्वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रो वजायत ॥” p. 351.

10. E.g., *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. II, p. 154—“शिव Son of Dhundhi, younger brother of Diyākara, from Gurjara, composed in 1479 : *Muktāvalīpaddhati* or *Jātaka-muktāvalīpaddhati*.” The date mentioned here almost coincides with the age to which I have assigned our author, but for want of his other details the identity cannot proceed further.

11. P. V. KANE : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (Poona, 1930), p. 452.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 440.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 437.

14. H. D. VELANKAR : *Catalogue of Saṁskṛta and Prākṛta MSS in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, p. 106, No. 321.

own *Muhūrtamāntaṇḍa* (1571 A.C.), in Pitāmbara's com. *Nirṇayāmyta* (1524 A.C.)²⁵ on his own *Vivāhapaṭala* (1522 A.C.) and in several other undated works like Śaṅkarānṛika's *Gotrapravaramahājari*,²⁶ etc.

Thus it had come to be recognised as a standard and authoritative work at least by 1524 A.C. and must have been in circulation for a considerable period before that date. Hence the lower limit for its date cannot be fixed later than c. 1500 A.C. Latest among the works settled in dates cited in the *Jyotirṇibandha* are Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, including its *Tīrthakhaṇḍa*, *Dānokhaṇḍa* and *Vṛatakhāṇḍa* sections, assigned to 1260-70 A.C.,²⁷ Parśurāma's *Bhūpālavalloḥa* composed in 1356 A.C.²⁸ and Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa's *Madanapārijāta* and *Madanamahābhāva* assigned to 1360-90 A.C.²⁹ It has been shown above that the citations occurring in the printed edition from the *Muhūrtacintāmaṇi* (1600 A.C.)³⁰ and the *Muhūrtacūḍāmaṇi* (c. 1618 A.C.)³¹ are not original. Hence the upper limit for the date of the *Jyotirṇibandha* has to be fixed somewhere about or after 1400 A.C. It is significant to note that our author does not include any of the celebrated and learned works³² composed by Keśava (c. 1496 A.C.),³³ father of Gaṇeśadaivajña, among the numerous authorities cited by him. On the basis of this negative evidence, which is of course not strictly conclusive, the period 1400-1500 A.C. to which the *Jyotirṇibandha* has been reasonably assigned above may be tentatively narrowed down to c. 1400-1480 A.C.

MSS of an apparently different *Jyotirṇibandha* of anonymous authorship are mentioned at some places. I have no means to decide if the work in each of those MSS bears or not any relation to Śivadāsa's *Jyotirṇibandha*.³⁴ The MSS Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, possesses a complete MS (Accession No. 2350)³⁵ of a similar *Jyotirṇibandha* not mentioning its author's name anywhere. On a comparison, however, I find that it is nothing but a collection of stray³⁶ and spontaneous selections from Śivadāsa's *Jyotirṇibandha* itself. The same may be said of the incomplete Tanjore MS No. 11406³⁷ of a slightly different *Jyotirṇibandha* on the evidence of the extracts furnished in the Tanjore Catalogue.

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16-5-42.

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15. S. B. DIKSHIT : भारतीय ज्योतिषशास्त्राचा इतिहास (Poona, 1931), p. 472.

16. P. V. KANE : *History of Dharmaśāstra*. Vol. I, p. 542a.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 357.

18. Vide my paper *Bhūpālavalloḥa : the Work, its Author and Date* Published in the *Silver Jubilee Volume of ABORI* (1943). So far as I am aware, the *Jyotirṇibandha* is chronologically the first work to quote from the *Bhūpālavalloḥa* which is cited therein numerous, sometimes under the abbreviation *Bhūpāla*.

19. P. V. KANE : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 388 ff.

20. S. B. DIKSHIT : भारतीय ज्योतिषशास्त्राचा इतिहास, pp. 278, 473, etc.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 472.

22. E.g., the *Grahakautuka*, the *Jātakapaddhati*, the *Tājakapaddhati*, the *Muhūrtatattva*, etc.

23. S. B. DIKSHIT : भारतीय ज्योतिषशास्त्राचा इतिहास, p. 471.

24. The *Jyotirṇibandha* is also cited in Prataparāja's *Parasurāmapratāpa* assigned to 1531-1550 A.C. Vide *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VII, p. 16.

25. E.g., AUFRICHT : *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, p. 212a.

26. E.g., the MS begins abruptly with verse 7 of Śivadāsa's introduction :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः । एषां (?) शास्त्राणि संवीक्ष्य etc.

27. Vide *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS in the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahāl Library*, Vol. XVI (1933), p. 7599 ff.

VEDICA

इति ह विज्ञायते

Vedic Ācāryas, while quoting the ancient authorities refer to them either expressly by name or in a general way. For instance, Yāska, the great exegetical Ācārya, quotes the previous authorities by name : इति 'हारिद्रविकम्', इति 'शाक्यपुनिः' etc. as well as in a general way by the words such as इति सामान्नातम्, 'इत्यपि निगमो भवति', इति ह 'विज्ञायते' etc. This general way of citation has been proverbial in the Prost-Brāhmanic literature. The composers of Sūtras have faithfully resorted to these conventions in their respective works. Thus we find in the following sūtras :

(a) अथापि ब्राह्मणं रिक्तो वा एषोऽनपिहितो यन्मुण्डस्तस्यैतदपिधानं यच्छिष्येति ।

(Bau. Dh. I, 3, 8.)

(b) तपस्स्वाध्याय इति ब्राह्मणम् (Bau. Dh. I, 4, 47.)

(c) न स्मयेत यदि स्मयेतापिगृह्य स्मयेतेति ब्राह्मणम् (Bau. Dh. I, 7, 6.)

(d) स एष आत्मयज्ञ आत्मनिष्ठ आत्मप्रतिष्ठ आत्मानं क्षेत्रं नयतीति विज्ञायते ।

(Bau. Dh. II, 10, 49.)

(e) उदीचीं दिशं गत्वानश्वन् संहिताध्ययनमधीयानः पूतो भवतीति विज्ञायते

(Vā. Dh. XX, 46.)

It is self-evident from the above passages ending with the word इति विज्ञायते that they are quotations other than the Dharma Sūtras. The study of Pw. also leads to the same conclusions. To cite the same authority. Häufig zur Anführung von zitierten aus normativen Büchern oder bei Angabe von Lehrsätzen", i.e., often for bringing in quotations from standard books or for statement of authoritative principles.

All authorities are unanimous in this verdict that इति ह विज्ञायते or इति विज्ञायते is used invariably as a sign of citations. But it is not established so far as to which particular branch of literature is referred by these words. Dr. L. SARUP has noted in one of his foot-notes in *Nirukta* (iv. 4) that Yāska uses इत्यपि निगमो भवति for Sāṁhitā portion whereas इति ह विज्ञायते is generally employed by him for quotations from the Brāhmaṇas.

His conclusions are right so far as the *Nirukta* is concerned, the only notable exception being 'ते सोमादो' इति ह विज्ञायते which is traced in *R̥gveda* X. 94. 9. If this single citation is proved from one of the last Brāhmanic works it would then be certain that Yāska definitely implied Brāhmanic passages by इति ह विज्ञायते. We have now to ascertain if the same Yaskian tradition has been followed up by Dharma Sūtra writers. The passages punctuated with इति विज्ञायते or इति ब्राह्मणम् are traceable in the extant Brāhmaṇas but there are certain references which are untraceable namely :

(a) गायत्र्या ब्राह्मणमसृजत त्रिष्टुभा राजन्यं जगत्या वैश्यं न केनचित्छन्दसा शूद्रमित्यसंस्कार्यो विज्ञायते. (Vā. Dh. IV, 3.)

1. *Nirukta* X, 5.

2. *Ibid.*, II, 8.

3. *Ibid.*, I, 1; vii, 13; viii, 14; x, 10.

4. *Ibid.*, II, 3; v, 1; vi, 3; viii, 20; x, 17; xii, 7.

5. *Ibid.*, I, 4; II, 11; III, 12; iv, 4; vii, 12; viii, 22; x, viii; xi, 29; xii, 13.

6. *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, Mysore Government's series No. 34, 1907.

7. BSS. No. xxiii, 1883.

(b) त्रिरजितो वापराद्धः पूतो भवतीति विज्ञायते (Vā. Dh. XX, 28.)

(c) यथा युक्तो विवाहस्तथा प्रजा भवतीति विज्ञायते (Bau. Dh. I, 11, 11.)

Hara Datta, the celebrated commentator of the Āpastambha Dharma Sūtra paraphrases इति विज्ञायते as इति ब्राह्मणं भवति । Gobindasvāmin too, in the Bau-dhayana Dharma Sūtra renders इति विज्ञायते as अतोऽस्मिन्नर्थे ब्राह्मणमपि भवत्येव (I, 11, 18). Skandasvāmin, while commenting on 'यद्वर्धत तद्बृत्रस्य वृत्रत्वमिति विज्ञायते' (Nirukta, II 17) remarks as follows :—

ब्राह्मणदृष्टास्त्रयोऽपि निर्वचनप्रकारा इति ।

Thus the commentators are unanimous in construing इति विज्ञायते with the Brāhmaṇas.

Above all, there is an indispensable evidence which speaks for the same conclusion. Both Āpastambha Dharma Sūtra and Hiraṇyakeśi-Dharma Sūtra belong to the Taittirīya Śākhā. Their texts are so identical that one is led to believe that either of them is copied from the other. Prof. P. V. KANE in his *History of Dharma Śāstras*⁹ writes : The Hiraṇyakeśi-Dharma-Sūtra is indebted to the Gṛhya Sūtra of Bhāradvāja. The Dharma Sūtra of Hiraṇyakeśin can hardly be called an independent work. Hundreds of Sūtras are borrowed word for word from the Āpastambha Dharma Sūtra". Dr. BÜHLER¹⁰ also holds the same view, as is evidenced from the following remark :

The Hiraṇyakeśi-Dharma Sūtra¹¹ belongs to a school which is sub-division of the Āpastambha and is almost identical with the Sūtra of the latter.

It is of interest to note that the following Sūtras substitute इति विज्ञायते for इति ब्राह्मणम् and vice versa.

Hi. Dh.

Āpa. Dh.

(a) तमसो वा एष तमः प्रविशति
यमविद्वानुपनयते यश्चाविद्वानिति विज्ञायते
(XXVI, 1, 19.)

तमसो वा एष तमः प्रविशति
यमविद्वानुपनयते यश्चाविद्वानिति ब्राह्मणम्
(I, 1, 11.)

(b) पाप्मानं हि तस्य भक्षयतीति ब्राह्मणम्
(XXVII, 2, 21.)

पाप्मानं हि तस्य भक्षयतीति विज्ञायते
(II, 6, 20.)

(c) एकरात्रं चेदतिथीन् वासयेन् -
पार्थिवलोकानभिजयति
द्वितीययाऽन्तरिक्ष्यास्तृतीयया
दिव्याश्चतुर्थ्या परावतो लोकानपरिमिताभिर-
परिमितलोकानभिजयतीति ब्राह्मणम्
(XXVII, 2, 35.)

एकरात्रं चेदतिथीन् वासयेत् पार्थिवान्
लोकानभिजयति द्वितीययान्तरिक्ष्यास्तृतीयया
दिव्याश्चतुर्थ्या परावतो लोकानपरिमिताभिर-
परिमितान् लोकानभिजयतीति विज्ञायते
(II, 7, 16.)

The above citations prove beyond a doubt that both the terms were synonymous in the Dharma Sūtra period. Hence it is safe to conclude that इति विज्ञायते in this branch of literature points exclusively to the passages of Brāhmaṇas.

Lahore

S. R. SEHGAL

8. Cf. also the gloss of Maskari on *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, xi, 12.

9. Vol. I, p. 46.

10. BSS., No. XLIV.

11. Anandāshrama Sanskrit Series No. 53. Praśna xxvi, and xxvii from text of the Dharma Sūtra.

GENESIS OF THE KAHAMUKARI FORM OF KHUSRO'S POETRY

Amir Khusro (1255-1324), one of the foremost writers in Hindi Kharī Boli has used several forms of poetry to express his genius of which *kaha-mukari* (Denial of an apparent assertion) is one. It consists in an expression of a certain idea through the words, but ultimately that idea is denied and another (which also is possible owing generally to pun) substituted. This form, thus is the representative, so to say, of the second variety of *Apahnuṣi* defined by Viśvanātha in the *Sāhitya-darpana* X 38(b), 39(a), e.g.

kālē vāridharāṇāmapatitayā naiva śakyāte sthātum

utkaṇṭhitāsi taralē nahi nahi sakhi picchalaḥ paṇṭhāh

"In the time of water-bearers (clouds) it is not possible to remain 'without a husband'"

"O fickle one! art thou feeling the pangs of separation?"

"O no! my friend! no, the path is slippery and one cannot but slip."

Here the word *apatitayā* gives two meanings—(1) 'the absence of the husband' and (2) the liability not to fall. This example, given by Viśvanātha, is *Śṛṅgārātma* (of the erotic sentiment) and the words suggest a husband.

The words as found in the *kaha-mukari* of Khusro suggests in all cases (Khusrū kī Hindi kavita edited by Brajaratnādāsa, Nāgarī Prachārīṇi Sabha, Benares, s.v. 1978, pp. 43-53), the husband (*sājana*), the lower who is ultimately denied and some other idea brought up. For instance:

tena mana dhana kā hai vaha mālaka

vāṇē diyā mere gōda mē bālaka.

vāsē nikasata jikō kama

ai sakhi sājana? nā sakhi Rāma.

"He is the lord of my body, mind and wealth, it is he who gave me this son in my lap, desires of my heart are satisfied by him." "O friend! is it the husband?" "Oh! no, (it is) Rāma."

Most of the current Indian forms of poetry can be easily traced back to some earlier forms. For instance, the devotional songs having a burden (*dhruva* or *ṭeka*) such as those of Mirā, Sūradāsa and Tulsidāsa, have their forerunners in the R̥gveda X. 21st hymn—*kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema*

"to which Deity shall we make the offering?"

The *kahamukaris* of Khusro find their near type in the Jātaka (cir. 3rd Cen. B.C.). In the Mahā-remmagga Jātaka (No. 546) the Deity who dwelt in the parasol of the king asks four questions—

(1) *hanti hatthehi pādehi mukhaṇica parisumbhati*

sa ve rājā piyo hoti, kaṁ tena-m-abhipassasiti—Jātaka VI, p. 376.

"(He) strikes with hands and feet, and beats on the face; O king, he is dear (husband), whom do you think him to be?"

(2) *akkosati yathākāmaṁ c' assa icchati*

sa ve rājā piyo hoti kaṁ tena-mabhi-passasiti—ibid, p. 377.

"(She) abuses him as much as she desires, yet wishes him to come near; O king he is dear (husband), whom do you think him to be?"

(3) *abbhakkhāti abhūtena alikena-m-abhisāṅge*

sa ve rājā piyo hoti, kaṁ tena-m-abhipassasiti—ibid, p. 377.

"(She) reviles him without cause, and without reason reproaches; O king, he is dear (husband), whom do you think him to be?"

- (4) *haraṃ ennañca pānāri vatthasamāsmāni ca
sa ve rājā piya hoti, kaṃ tena-m-abhipassasīti*—ibid, p. 378.

"(He) takes food and drink, clothes, beds and stools; O king, he is dear (husband), whom do you consider him to be"?

In all these four questions set by the Deity to the king, the suggestion is that of the (beloved) husband more or less, as we find in Khusro in a more assertive form (and in most of the stanzas in an obscene implication), but the real idea is different. Therein lies the knottiness of the question. The answers as set forth in the Jātaka itself, propounded by Mahosadha, the wise minister of the king, are (1) and (2)—child, (3) man and woman in love and (4) mendicant. But (3) also possibly should have its answer in—child.

In all these four stanzas the words have been so chosen as to indicate 'the dear one' in every case, but in reality the 'dear one' is denied, and some other meaning indicated owing to the potentiality of those words to give a double meaning.

The second half, of each of these stanzas which is identical (*sa ve rājā piya hoti, kaṃ tena-m-abhipassasīti*) has been interpreted differently by Cowell and Rouse Jātakas (Eng. Trans.) Vol. Cam. U. P., pp. 187, 190, 191). They translate it as :

"Yet, O king, he is dear, and grows dearer than a husband." I feel that this translation is not quite accurate. But accepting that '*kaṃ tena-m-abhipassasīti*' should be taken as Cowell and Rouse take it (not minding the person in the verb and joining up *kaṃ* and *tena* to make up *kantena* < *kāntena* to make the instrumental⁹ sag., while the ablative would be required for their interpretation) the point of similarity between these stanzas and Khusro's *kahamukari* becomes all the more apparent. In both we have the following common features :

- (a) a statement capable of double interpretation
- (b) the apparent interpretation being applicable to the 'lover' (husband).

In the *kahamukari* the application to the husband is directly denied when the question is put, while in the Pāli stanzas the question is put, but the answer is not found in them and is left to be given later.

In these circumstances, I believe that the *kahamukari* form is the development of the early form available in the Pāli Jātaka. It may be presumed that it went on developing in the folk-poetry, until it was considered to be good enough for inclusion in standard poetry as the citations from Viśvanātha and Khusro show.

University of Allahabad.

BABURAM SAKSENA.

NOTES OF THE MONTH

We have pleasure in endorsing the following appeals and urging upon patriotic Indians to help the cause of India's ancient civilization by responding to them sympathetically and whole-heartedly.

APPEAL FOR V. S. SUKTHANKAR MEMORIAL EDITION

The sad and sudden demise of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, the General Editor of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* on 21st January 1943 will be deeply mourned by all his friends and admirers throughout the world. The Great Epic of India was the be-all and end-all of his life and he died in harness while musing on his lectures on the three-dimensional view of the *Mahābhārata* which he had been delivering every Friday this January before the University of Bombay. Like the late Prof. Dr. Moriz WINTERNITZ of Prague who wrote his last letter to Dr. SUKTHANKAR on the *Mahābhārata* a few hours before his death, Dr. SUKTHANKAR was revising to the last moment of his conscious life his typescript of the lecture he was to deliver on the following day. He devoted more than 17 years of his precious life to the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* and allied studies and turned out work which has evoked the highest admiration not only from the most eminent Indologists but also from the most distinguished academic bodies all over the world such as the British Academy and the American Oriental Society. We, therefore, feel it both a sacred duty and a proud privilege to commemorate his signal services to Oriental Learning in a fitting manner, and accordingly propose to bring out a Memorial Edition of his published writings at an early date.

It is estimated that the collected published papers of Dr. SUKTHANKAR may cover about 700 papers (royal octavo). These may be conveniently divided into one or two volumes dealing respectively with the Great Epic and with his other writings. It is also proposed to include in this edition a literary biography of the great departed savant, materials for which are being gathered by the Signatories of this appeal. For this purpose the co-operation of his numerous friends and admirers who have come into personal contact with him is earnestly solicited. You are, therefore, requested to communicate to Prof. P. K. Gope, Poona, Secretary of the Memorial Edition Committee, your impressions of the great Orientalist together with any letters received by you from him to enable the Committee to complete his literary biography. All help utilized for this purpose will be gratefully acknowledged and all documents received will be returned to their respective owners.

The cost of the Memorial Edition is estimated to cover more than Rs. 7,500 and it is expected that this will be met by the voluntary contributions from his friends and admirers as also from Institutes interested in his valuable work in the domain of Indology. It is the earnest desire of the admirers of the late Prof. Dr. SUKTHANKAR that at least the first volume of this Edition, consisting of his most important contributions to the critical study of the Great Epic should be published on the first anniversary of his death, i.e. on 21st January 1944.

In view of the extreme shortage of paper the Memorial Edition will be limited to not more than 500 numbered copies. A minimum contribution of Rs. 20 towards the cost of this Edition paid before 30 June 1943, will entitle the contributor to a free set of this Edition and to the inclusion of his name in the *Tabula*

Gratulatoria to be printed at the end of the first volume. All donations of Rs. 500 or more will be indicated in the Preface to this volume.*

We hope that as an admirer of the work and scholarship of the late Professor Dr. SUKTHANKAR you will associate yourself with the Memorial Edition Committee in the execution of the present project which is in the nature of the greatest memorial that can be raised in honour of the monumental services rendered by the lamented professor to his motherland and to the cause of Indian Scholarship by bringing together in one place his scattered and inaccessible contributions from various journals and books.

We shall feel obliged if you will kindly send to the Secretary of the Committee your contribution at an early date to facilitate the work of the Memorial Edition.

It is proposed that the ultimate balance of the proceeds of this Edition shall be invested in Government Securities for instituting a special medal, fellowship or lectureship at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in connection with Epic Studies.

Thanking you in anticipation,
Yours Sincerely,

K. M. JHAVERI, (Vice-Chairman).
P. K. GODE, (Managing Editor).

BHAWANRAO PANT PRATINIDHI,
Raja of Aundh, (Chairman).

APPEAL FOR THE GANGANATHA JHA MEMORIAL

Sir Ganganatha Jha died in November 1941. We feel that in order to honour a scholar and educationist of his eminence, a suitable memorial to him should be erected. We think that the best form which this could take is an Institute at Allahabad for study, research, and publication in Indology. This will be in keeping with his life work. In order that such an institute should be placed on a suitable and permanent basis, and making provision for a building, for a collection of books and manuscripts, for publication, and for stipends for scholars, it is estimated that an endowment of Rupees Three Lakhs will be needed. We realise that the times are not favourable; but scholarship and learning must be encouraged at all times; and we trust that all those who respect culture and care for the humanities will respond generously to this appeal. We are glad to announce that with his characteristic generosity, the Hon. Maharajadhiraj Dr. Sir Kameshwara Singh Bahadur of Darbhanga has made a donation of Rs. 10,000 with a promise for a further sum amounting to Rs. 15,000 for this memorial. Dr. Jha's sons have kindly promised to present to the Institute his large collection of Sanskrit books. All donations will be received and acknowledged by the Treasurer, Raj Bahadur Pandit Braj Mohan Vyas, Executive Officer, Allahabad Municipal Board. We trust the response will be both prompt and magnanimous.

Hirdaynath Kunzru (Dr.)
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Madan Mohan Malaviya
M. S. Aney (Hon.)
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* All donations should be forwarded to Prof. P. K. Gode, M. A. Hon. Secretary, V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee, Deccan Gymkhana, Poona 4.

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REVIEWS

Bengali Literature by Annada Sankara and Lila RAY; published for the P.E.N. All-India Centre. Arya Sangha, Malabar Hill, Bombay by the International Book House Ltd., Ash Lane, Fort, Bombay, 1942. Pp. 126; size 5" × 7½"; Price: Rs. 2.

But for the undercurrent of the literatures enshrined in the different languages of India, Indian culture would have been petrified by the ravages of time and completely forgotten. It should be the aim of all lovers of Indian culture not only to preserve this current in tact but to make it flow through the well scooped out channels of national unity and thus make it available for the common man on whose cultural progress hangs the destiny of the nation. The India centre of the P.E.N. Association founded by Sophia WADIA in 1933 must, therefore, be congratulated on all its activities in the cause of national unity by the spread of Indian culture on a wider level. The P.E.N. Books series projected by the above centre includes about 15 books dealing with Indian literatures out of which the book on *Assamese literature* by B. K. BARUA was published sometime ago. The volume before us on *Bengali Literature* partakes of the same good qualities of form and presentation as characterized its predecessor in the series. The plan of each book in the series consists of (1) the history of the literature it deals with, (2) its modern developments, and (3) an Anthology representative of the spirit it breathes. The present volume contains in all four sections:—I—*Old Bengali Literature* (Here Mr. A. S. RAY deals with the background of this literature and also with the Vaishnava, Śākta, Buddhist and the Muslim poets, the *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata*, the Caitanya, Chhroicles, and folk literature); II—*New Bengali Literature* (This section by Mr. RAY deals with Michael, Bankim and his contemporaries and Rabindranath and his contemporaries); III—*Anthology* (prose and verse) by Lila RAY and IV—*Suggested Reading List*. We fully endorse Mr. Ramananda CHATTERJEE'S deprecation of the present fashion of classifying authors according to their political, politico-economic or socio-political *isms*, for in literature proper what matters most is aesthetic and emotional value (vide p. xi of Introduction). For those who make much ado about the linguistic difficulties in the sphere of Indian cultural unity we recommend the following observation of Sophia WADIA for serious consideration:—

"India's many languages are not a curse, however much her enemies may call them so or her political and other reformers may wish for a *lingua franca*. Ideas unite people and rule the world; not words. Europe is not suffering because it has many languages but because conflicting ideas and competing ideas have confused issues and have created chaos. Our many languages are channels of cultural enrichment. . . . No systematic attempt has been made to popularise the story of the Indian literatures or to present gems from their masterpieces to the general public in English translation. This is now being attempted by the centre for India of the International P.E.N."

Creative vision consists not in adding to the chaos of ideas but in seeing the unity in diversity and in this vision alone lies the way to national regeneration and the uplift of the masses.

P. K. CODE.

Vasanta Vilāsa (an old Gujarātī Phāgu) edited with a critical Introduction and explanatory and Philological Notes by Prof. K. B. VYAS, M.A., Elphinstone College, Bombay, with a Foreword by Muni Śree Jinavijayaji: N. M. Tripathi & Co. Bombay 2, 1942. Pp. lxxvi + 89; size: 5" × 7"; Price Rs 2-8-0.

The late Diwan Bahadur K. H. DHRUVA, the veteran Gujarātī scholar was the first to bring *Vasanta Vilāsa* to light. This poem is considered as one of the brightest gems of the Old Gujarātī literature. By his present critical edition of

this valuable work Prof. VYAS has laid all scholars under a deep debt of gratitude. The contents of the present edition are best described by Muni JINAVIJAYAJI: "Prof. VYAS has discussed exhaustively in his introduction most of the relevant topics—the MS material, Dhruva's emendations, the question of the authorship and the date of composition, the characteristic features of the *phāgu* form, the metrical form of the poem, and the phonology and the morphology of the contemporary Old Western Rājasthāni language as preserved in the poem, examining all available evidence bearing on them critically". The exact name of the author remains still undetermined inspite of several guesses. Prof. VYAS assigns this *phāgu* (phālguna) or Spring-poem to Vikrama *Saṁvat* 1400 (=A.D. 1344) or so. Muni JINAVIJAYAJI suggests even an earlier date viz. V. S. 1300 (= A.D. 1244) but for this suggestion there is "no positive evidence" as he himself states in his scholarly Foreword.

The business of a textual critic is to keep all his cards on the table and we are happy to find that Prof. VYAS has done his part of the job quite ably and convincingly. Besides the two MSS on which the present edition is based a third MS C reached his hands when the book was ready. Even this MS has been analysed and its readings incorporated in Appendix IV of the edition. The present edition reminds us of Mr. PRIYOLKAR's critical edition of *Damayanti svayamvara* of Raghunātha Pundita (in Marathi). There is a bright future textual critics in this country if they care to pursue and enforce the canons of Textual Criticism as discussed in Dr. KATRE's recent book on *Indian Textual Criticism*.

P. K. GODÉ.

Studies in Sanskrit Literature (First Series) by Prof. C. R. Narsimha SASTRI, M.A., Sanskrit Department, University of Mysore, 1936. Pp. 97 + xix. Price Rupee One.

This is a delightful collection of essays "for the most part interpretative in character" especially written for cultured readers who have no time to master Sanskrit literature but who are eager to acquaint themselves with its treasures. Even for Sanskrit scholars proper they will serve as a tonic especially after an arduous study of epigraphs and pre-historic remains. Darwin complained in his old age that his life-long studies pertaining to his special subject had made him incapable of appreciating music and other arts as he had not developed special taste for it owing to other serious pursuits of the scientific variety. Researchers in Indology, especially those carrying on specialized research, will have to complain likewise if they do not take occasional rambles in the delightful domain of Sanskrit *Sāhitya* literature by way of change and refreshment.

The three essays in the book before us are devoted to the writings ascribed to Amaru, Bharatnighari and Hāla. The fourth essay deals with "A Novel view of Rasa". The Appendix contains the texts on which Prof. SASTRI's exposition is based and is, therefore, useful for ready reference. Prof. SASTRI is not merely a collector of roses in the garden of Sanskrit literature but he is also a perfumer who has distilled some good rosewater and at times the *attar* of his roses. The condition of the reader of the present essays will be something that of a youth at the sight of a flower seller so aptly depicted in the following stanza of *Gāthā-Saptasatī* (VI—98)*

"The youth greedy of beholding the charms of the shoulders of the flower seller hovers about her under various pretexts always asking the price of flowers."

P. K. GODÉ.

* Bhaṭṭa Sri Mathurānātha renders this Prakrit Stanza as follows in his संस्कृत गाथा सप्तशती (p. 303 of N. S. P. Edition 1933):

"मात्राकार्याः सुन्दरमुज्ज्वलविलोके सतृणोयम् ।

पौडुल्युवा ह्यलीकं कुसुमार्धविरुच्छको भ्रमति ॥ ९८ ॥"

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